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First page of Tomé Pires' original letter from Malacca, to Afonso de Albuquerque, 10th Jan., 1513

# THE SUMA ORIENTAL OF TOME PIRES

AN ACCOUNT OF THE EAST, FROM THE RED SEA  
TO JAPAN, WRITTEN IN MALACCA AND INDIA IN

1512-1515

AND

## THE BOOK OF FRANCISCO RODRIGUES

RUTTER OF A VOYAGE IN THE RED SEA, NAUTICAL RULES,  
ALMANACK AND MAPS, WRITTEN AND DRAWN IN THE

EAST BEFORE 1515

*Translated from the Portuguese MS in the Bibliothèque  
de la Chambre des Députés, Paris, and edited by*

ARMANDO CORTESÃO

VOLUME I

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1944

TO  
CHARLES RALPH BOXER

A true friend, to whom the  
history of the Portuguese in  
the East owes so much

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## FOREWORD

WHEN I returned from Paris in 1937 and told Dr. Edward Lynam, Hon. Secretary of the Hakluyt Society, that I had just discovered the long-sought codex containing the *Suma Oriental* of Tomé Pires and the *Book* of Francisco Rodrigues, he immediately suggested that I should edit the manuscript for his Society. I gladly accepted, as no other learned Society could so appropriately publish this almost completely unknown work. Moreover the English, being the principal heirs of the great Portuguese Eastern Empire, are as much interested as the Portuguese in a document of such importance for the history of the first regular contacts between West and East.

The present study allows new light to be thrown on the first official European Embassy to China and its leader, Tomé Pires, the extraordinary man who, after being apothecary to the unfortunate Prince Afonso, son of King John II, went to India in 1511 as 'factor of the drugs', lived for two and a half years in newly-conquered Malacca, where he wrote most of the *Suma Oriental*, and then was sent as ambassador to China, where he died after some twenty years of varied and painful experiences. Till now, little was known about Pires and his Embassy, and the scanty information and scattered documents referring to both had never been brought together.

War broke out when I had nearly finished the lengthy task of typing and translating the whole manuscript. Not until 1942 could I continue my work. This is why I could not finish it as early as promised to the Hakluyt Society and to the International Congress of Geography of Amsterdam, in 1938, where I presented a brief tentative report on the codex, and announced my intention of editing it. The impossibility of working in Portuguese Archives or in Paris to clear up doubtful points, and the removal from the British Museum of much early material, caused me considerable difficulties. Furthermore, when the whole typescript was ready, war-time printing conditions forced

me to reduce my editorial work by about two-fifths. All this accounts for some of the deficiencies in the present edition.

From M.M. les Questeurs de la Chambre des Députés I obtained authorisation, dated 5th March 1938, for the publication of the codex; this I here acknowledge with thanks. Without the aid of many friends and correspondents I could hardly have solved several of my problems. I wish to express my gratitude to all who have assisted me. Besides Dr. Lynam, I am specially grateful to Miss P. J. Radford for her varied assistance throughout this work; to Miss M. Withers for her help in the translation up to fol. 172; to Dr. H. Thomas, Keeper of Printed Books in the British Museum, for much valuable advice, for help in the translation from fol. 173 onwards, and for reading the Introduction and Notes; to Major C. R. Boxer, now a prisoner in Japanese hands, for assistance and encouragement; to my learned friend the Viscount de Lagôa for information supplied from Lisbon; to Prof. E. Prestage for reading that part of the translation not seen by Dr. Thomas, and for valuable advice; to Prof. C. A. Moule for guidance in all matters relating to China; to Mr. G. R. Crone, Librarian of the Royal Geographical Society, for much help; to Commandant D. Gernez, of the French Navy, for help over Rodrigues' *Book*; to Dr. J. Ramsbottom, Keeper of Botany, Natural History Museum, for advice on all botanical matters; to M. C. de la Roncière, of the Bibliothèque National de Paris, Prof. W. Simon of the School of Oriental Studies, Dr. L. Giles, Mr. R. Pocock, F.R.S., Mr. J. E. Dandy of the Natural History Museum, Sir Richard Burn, Mr. C. D. Ley, J. Frazão de Vasconcelos, L. Reis Santos, Ad. Lopes Vieira, and my son Eduardo Luís, for assistance in various ways; to the Staff of the British Museum, especially Mr. J. A. Petherbridge, and of the Royal Geographical Society's Library and Map Room, especially Mr. G. Mackay, who has drawn all the illustrative maps. Last but not least, I wish to acknowledge the support received from the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning, without which it might have been impossible for me to carry on with this work.

LONDON, *August* 1944.

A. Z. CORTESÃO.

# INTRODUCTION

## THE PARIS CODEX

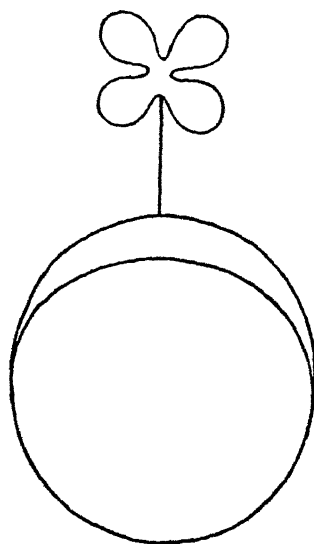
IT is surprising that such an important document for the history of geography as Tomé Pires' *Suma Oriental*—surely the most important and complete account of the East produced in the first half of the sixteenth century, though it was written in 1512–15—has lain forgotten and practically unnoticed until now; the more so as incorporated with it in the same codex is the contemporary *Book* of Francisco Rodrigues with its precious maps which became world-famous in the middle of the last century.

When the Viscount de Santarém reproduced in his last *Atlas*, dated 1849, a series of twenty-six maps under the general title *Portulan dressé entre les années 1524–1530 par Francisco Rodrigues, pilote portugais, qui a fait le voyage aux Moluques*, he did not state where the maps were to be found. The Viscount de Santarém died in 1856, but many of the notes he left on cosmography and cartography, gathered in an almost life-long research among European archives, mainly in Portugal and France, were not published till 1919<sup>1</sup>. In these notes, under the heading 'Portulano de Francisco Rodrigues', we find an extensive description of Rodrigues' *Book* which ends with a very brief reference to Pires' *Suma Oriental*. The description is not altogether correct. It gives, however, a most important clue in a footnote, which says that the codex belonged at the time the description was written (1850) to the 'Library of the National Assembly', Paris. In 1933 I wrote to Paris about this codex and was told that it could not be found anywhere, though it might be in the Bibliothèque Nationale, perhaps catalogued under some unrecognizable title<sup>2</sup>. However, when I visited Paris later, I could not find it in the Bibliothèque Nationale, nor in any of the other public libraries where I searched. No one could trace it, and it

<sup>1</sup> Visconde de Santarém, *Estudos de Cartografia Antiga*, 1, 148–56.

<sup>2</sup> This vague information misled me into asserting in my *Cartografia e Cartógrafos Portugueses dos Séculos XV e XVI* (II, 124), published in 1935, that the codex was in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

was considered lost; but I did not give up, and when in September 1937 I returned to Paris, I was glad to find in the volume *Paris, Chambre des Députés* of the *Catalogue général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France*, p. 471, the following entry: '1248 (ED, 19). Journal de Francisco Roïs, pilote de la flotte portugaise, qui découvrit les Molluques. Ouvrage divisé en deux parties, la première remplie par des cartes, la deuxième contenant le texte proprement dit. Sur le plat intérieur est collé un ex-libris du chevalier de Fleurieu. XVIe siècle. Papier. 178 feuillets et 124 pages. 380 sur 265 millim. Rel. veau marbré, portant au dos le soleil de Fleurieu'. Roïs is the old or abbreviated spelling of Rodrigues. The description is not very correct, as will be seen later, but it led me to the place where the precious and long-sought codex lay in oblivion.



Watermark in the paper of  
the whole Paris Codex.  
(Size of original)

The volume is bound in gilt calf, and on the back is impressed the sun of the Fleurieu family; inside the cover is the ex-libris of 'Mr. le Cher. de Fleurieu', the famous French hydrographer, Comte de Fleurieu (1738-1810), a former owner of the codex. It is obvious that it was bound while in Fleurieu's possession, and unfortunately it was badly cropped in binding, part of the words in some marginal notes or additions, or in maps, and most of the original numeration of the sheets, having been cut away. The volume contains, besides 4 fly-leaves, 178 folios of thick white paper measuring 263 by 377 mm. Rodrigues' *Book*, with the drawings and maps all on the same

paper, occupies the first 116 folios; Pires' *Suma* fills the other 62. The paper of the 178 folios is all the same and bears the same watermark.

On fol. 5r. is written the word *Osorio* in a later hand, probably the signature of the famous Bishop D. Jerónimo Osório, a sixteenth-century historian and book-collector, apparently an early owner of the codex<sup>1</sup>. Each MS has its original folio numeration, almost completely cut away when the volume was bound; but traces of it can still be seen. Another numeration was supplied, later, in Pires' *Suma*, and a completely new one, from 1 to 178, was added in a modern hand to the whole codex.

Santarém's above-mentioned footnote says also: 'It seems that this precious MS belonged to the famous Bishop Osório, a great many of whose MSS were found by the English on board a Portuguese ship, which they captured off the Azores and took to England. Later it was acquired by M. de Fleurieu'. He adds that this information was given to him by 'M. Bliller, librarian of the National Assembly'. I was unable to trace the origin of this curious information.

<sup>1</sup> This supposition, though very likely, is merely conjectural, because—strange though it may appear—no document bearing the signature of Bishop Osório has, so far, been found in Portuguese archives or anywhere else. D. Jerónimo Osório was born in Lisbon in 1506 and died at Tavira in 1580. He studied at the Universities of Salamanca, Paris and Bologna; in Paris he was a companion of St. Ignatius of Loyola. In 1564 he was appointed Bishop of Silves, after having been a Professor in the University of Coimbra. He was a famous and learned writer and left numerous works, mainly in Latin; one of the better known is *De rebus Emmanuelis Regis Lusitaniae invictissimi virtute et auspicio gestis libri duodecim*, Olysippone 1571. There was another Jerónimo Osório (1545–1611), nephew of the former, who was a canon of the see of Evora and also a book-collector. It has been said that when in 1596 the Earl of Essex sacked Faro he took with him Bishop Osório's books, which he later presented to the Bodleian Library. However, the bishop of Faro was then D. Fernando Martins Mascarenhas. Essex "quartered himself on the bushopes howse", and two days later set fire to the town and sailed for home; but he saved the Bishop's library, and in 1600 made a gift of some 200 volumes to the Bodleian. See the interesting article by Miss K. M. P[ogson], *A Grand Inquisitor, and his Library*, published together with 'A list of books presented by the Earl of Essex in 1600, still in the Bodleian', in *The Bodleian Quarterly Record*, III, 239–44. Oxford 1922. J. B. Silva Lopes says that 'among the spoil that the English took with them, was the precious library of the Bishop (Mascarenhas), composed of many books, a good part of which they say was taken to the Library of Oxford, and among them there were many of the learned D. Jerónimo Osório'. *Memorias para a Historia Ecclesiastica do Bispado do Algarve*, p. 369. Lisboa 1848. Among all the books presented by Essex there is only one in manuscript; none of them seems to bear the signature of Bishop Osório. See plate II.



When referring to Tomé Pires, Barbosa Machado says in his *Bibliotheca Lusitana* that he wrote '*Summa Oriental começando do estreito do mar roxo até a China, Dedicado a D. João III.* fol. M.S.' This was perhaps an earlier copy than the Paris MS, as will be seen later, in spite of the supposed dedication to King John III, whose reign began in 1521. Actually Pires dedicated the *Suma* to John III's father, King Manuel I. There is no doubt, however, that it was a different copy. Rodrigues' *Book* was written by himself, and Pires' *Suma* is a contemporary copy, which is evident not only from the early sixteenth-century handwriting, but also from the fact of the paper being exactly the same in both MSS. Besides, the word *Osorio* on fol. 5r. of Rodrigues' *Book* is apparently in the same hand as the notes, referring to the order of the folios, written on fols. 118v., 124v., etc., of Pires' *Suma*. It is probable that the two MSS were assembled in the same codex by Rodrigues himself, or at least in his time; they certainly were together when in Osorio's possession, before 1580. So the copy referred to by Barbosa Machado could not have been the same, otherwise he would not fail to mention Rodrigues and his *Book*, which he does not.

THE PRESENT EDITION—Though the two works are very distinct in character—one a rutter, a nautical manual and an atlas, the other a geographical, economical and historical account—they are both very valuable, were written much about the same time, have been together from an early date, and to some extent complete each other. I am glad that the Council of the Hakluyt Society agreed to publish them both together and to print the original of the very difficult and etymologically very interesting Portuguese text verbatim after the English version, which undoubtedly enhances the value of the present edition.

The present copy of Pires' *Suma* is not the original he himself wrote, and the copyist has left only too many instances of his own carelessness. Pires' style is far from clear, and this, added to the transcriber's mistakes and the most anarchic punctuation, or absolute lack of it, makes the interpretation of the text often extremely difficult; sometimes the translation has to be very free, perhaps even more of a guess than anything else. I have endeavoured, however, always to catch the real meaning of what

Pires originally wrote, not only collating the Paris MS with another copy and with Ramusio's version of part of the *Suma*, but also studying the context and other sources when available. In all the most difficult cases I sought the help and advice of such learned experts and scholars as Dr. Henry Thomas and Prof. Edgar Prestage. Even so, I am not sure that it has always been possible to reach the right interpretation; but the reader, when in doubt, has the faithfully reproduced Portuguese text for reference; from it he may attempt a better version. He will find much matter for study and discussion. Here my limited responsibility ends.

The greater importance and length of Pires' work made it advisable to print the English version before that of Rodrigues' *Book*, reversing the order in which they occur in the codex. When the two MSS were assembled together at an early date, some folios of the *Suma Oriental* were misplaced, or for some reason or other the text does not follow the order originally intended by Tomé Pires. All this has been adjusted in the English version; but in the case of the Portuguese text, its actual order and disposition in the Paris codex are faithfully kept. Both in the English version and in the Portuguese text the numeration of the folios is given as it appears in the Paris codex; this will help the reader to find without difficulty the corresponding portions in the English and the Portuguese. In annotating the text I have tried not only to elucidate every obscure point, when possible, but also to explain or emphasize the importance of certain passages for the history of geography; this will account for the length of some of the notes.

Names of Eastern persons and places, the identification of which is not always possible, are often given with such different spellings in the Portuguese text that their rendering into English becomes a complex problem. I decided, as a general rule, to print Eastern names of persons, and their official posts, as they occur in the Portuguese text, and to give explanations, and the corresponding English forms, whenever possible, in footnotes. As regards place-names, they are always given in the English form in the translation, when they can be identified and there is a corresponding English name; but the first time the name

appears, and when it is repeated in a different form or much later in the text, the original Portuguese spelling follows in brackets.

Before describing the *Suma Oriental* in detail, I now give a biographical sketch of Tomé Pires; then I deal with Francisco Rodrigues and his *Book* in the same way.

#### BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON TOMÉ PIRES

Tomé Pires cuts a modest figure when compared with some of the men who shine in the history of the Portuguese in the East during the first half of the sixteenth century. Among those living there at the time, Albuquerque, the great captain and administrator, founder of an immense Empire, and Camoens, the Prince of Portuguese Poets, who sang the glory of his country and countrymen, are the greatest of all. Duarte Pacheco Pereira, D. João de Castro and António Galvão were famous as captains, administrators and navigators or writers, Garcia da Orta as a scientist, Gaspar Correia and Castanheda as chroniclers. Fernão Mendes Pinto, whose *Peregrinação* was published only thirty-one years after his death, with several alterations, was the greatest adventurer in Portuguese history, and has left us a wonderful account of his marvellous adventures. Many others won immortal fame as warriors, navigators or explorers. Even Duarte Barbosa became world-famous, but his *Book* was written just after Pires had finished the *Suma Oriental*, a much vaster work. Barbosa's *Book*, the original of which is lost, was soon translated into Spanish and Italian, and was first published by Ramusio in 1550, becoming widely known, while only a less important portion of Pires' *Suma* reached Ramusio, who published it without name of author, which he did not know.

Pires' great work was lost and has been buried in oblivion until now. The humble apothecary who arrived in India in 1511, and through his merits was chosen for the important post of first Portuguese Ambassador to China, where he died probably about 1540, has been practically forgotten, though his contribution to the early knowledge of the East is of the greatest historical importance. He is, however, a very interesting figure, and the *Suma Oriental*, besides being the earliest extensive account

of the East written by a Portuguese, is also the first European description of Malasia, the detail of which was not surpassed, in many respects, for more than a century or two. Tomé Pires was above all an eager observer, a keen and inquisitive student, and a faithful, accurate and indefatigable describer; though his literary style is poor, he cannot but occupy a remarkable place among the early European writers on the East.

SOURCES—Data about Tomé Pires' life, from shortly after his arrival in India till his death, are not scarce, though they are rather incomplete; but for his life in Portugal there are only a few vague references. All we know about him is contained in the following: the present *Suma Oriental*, four letters written by him, five other documents signed by him, one letter signed by him and others, eight letters and another document by contemporaries who refer to him, and references in the chroniclers and early writers. These are summarized below.

Pires' letters: from Malacca, 7 Nov. 1512, to his brother João Fernandes, published in *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque*, vol. VII, pp. 58–60; from Malacca, 10 Jan. 1513<sup>1</sup>, to Afonso de Albuquerque, *Ibid.* 4–7; from Malacca, 10 Jan. 1513, to 'Whoever is in charge of appointing officials for Malacca', *Ibid.*, 66–7; from Cochin, 27 Jan. 1516, to the King of Portugal. This last was published for the first time in the *Jornal da Sociedade Pharmaceutica Lusitana*, tomo. II, no. 1, pp. 36 *seqq.* Lisbon, 1838; then in *Gazeta de Pharmacia*, Lisbon, 1866; and again in *Obras Completas do Cardial Saraiva*, vol. VI, pp. 419–28, Lisbon, 1875. A translation of this extremely interesting document is given at the end of vol. II, Appendix II, of the present work.

Other documents signed by Pires: document dated in Malacca, 12 Nov. 1513, in which he appears as executor of the will of his brother-in-law Diogo Lopes, *Cartas*, VII, 99; receipt in Malacca, 24 Dec. 1513, *Ibid.*, 107; receipt in Malacca, 12 Jan. 1514, *Ibid.*, 112–13; receipt in Malacca, 5 May 1514, *Ibid.*, 121–2;

<sup>1</sup> This letter was published with the date 10 Jan. 1512. It refers, however, to some events that happened months later, such as Pires' auditing of the accounts of João Freire, factor of Abreu's fleet to the Spice Islands, who returned to Malacca in December 1512, and also the intended attack of *Pate Unus* against Malacca, which took place at the beginning of January 1513 (see note pp. 151–2). See plate I.

letter 'To the King our Lord—from the officials of Malacca', 7 Jan. 1514, signed by 'the scriveners Pero Salgado, Tomé Pires and Garcia Chaym, and the factor Pero Pessoa', *Ibid.*, III, 89-91.

Documents referring to Pires: an order of Rui de Brito, Captain of Malacca, 4 Nov. 1513, decreeing that Pires should receive what was left by his dead brother-in-law, *Ibid.*, VII, 97; letter from Afonso de Albuquerque to the King of Portugal, Cannanore, 30 Nov. 1513, *Ibid.*, I, 141-50; letter from Rui de Brito, Captain of Malacca, to the King of Portugal, Malacca, 6 Jan. 1514, *Ibid.*, III, 91-7 and in *Alguns Documentos da Torre do Tombo*, pp. 345-50; letter from Rui de Brito to Afonso de Albuquerque, Malacca, 6 Jan. 1514, *Cartas*, III, 216-31; letter from Jorge de Albuquerque, Captain of Malacca, to the King of Portugal, Malacca, 8 Jan. 1515, *Ibid.*, III, 133-9; letter from Jorge de Albuquerque, Captain of Malacca, to the King of Portugal, Malacca, 1 Jan. 1524, *Ibid.*, IV, 35-42; two letters from Cristóvão Vieira and Vasco Calvo, Canton, 1524, and 10 Nov. 1524<sup>1</sup>. Later copies of these two letters, extant in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris (Fonds Portugais, no. 65)<sup>2</sup>, were published—introduction, original text and translation—by Donald Ferguson in the *Indian Antiquary*, Bombay, 1901-2. In the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, there are fragments (Fragmentos, Maço 24) of the original of the first of these two letters (in Chinese ink on Chinese paper), which were published by Dr. E. A. Voretzsch in *Boletim da Sociedade Luso-Japonesa*, no. 1, Tokyo, 1929.

References in chronicles and early books: Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da Índia*, vol. II, pp. 473, 528-9, 678, written in the middle of the sixteenth century; Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, *Historia do Descobrimento da Índia pelos Portugueses*, bk. IV, chaps. IV and XXXI, bk. V, chap. LXXX, 1st ed. 1554; João de Barros, *Ásia*, Década III, bk. II, chap. 8, bk. VI, chaps. I and 2,

<sup>1</sup> Although these two letters were published as dated 1534 and 1536, this was a mistake, as will be shown farther on.

<sup>2</sup> The two letters of Vieira and Calvo are bound together with the MS of the *Chronica dos Reis de Bisnaga*, published by David Lopes, Lisboa, 1897. The compilation of this *Chronica* was ordered by Barros (cf. David Lopes' *Introduction*, p. lxi), and he utilized it as well as the two letters as a source of information in the writing of the *Third Decade* of his *Ásia*.

and bk. VIII, chap. 5, 1st ed. 1563; António Galvão, *Tratado*, pp. 129-30, Hak. Soc. ed. (1st ed. 1563); Damião de Góis, *Chronica do Felicissimo Rei Dom Emanuel*, pt. IV, chaps. xxiii and xxv, 1st ed. 1567; Fernão Mendes Pinto, *Peregrinação*, chaps. lxxv, xci and cxvi, 1st ed. 1614; Manuel de Faria e Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa*, tom. I, pt. III, chaps. 3 and 6, and Appendix, chap. 7, 1st ed. 1666; Diogo Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, s.v. Thomé Pires, 1st ed. 1752.

BEFORE ARRIVAL IN INDIA—Very little positive is known of Tomé Pires' early life. Gaspar Correia informs us that Pires was a son of the apothecary of King John II (1455-95), and Castanheda says that he had been apothecary of Prince Afonso. This was probably the unfortunate son of John II, born 18 May 1475, died 13 July 1491. There was also a Prince Afonso, seventh son of King Manuel (1469-1521), born 23 April 1509<sup>1</sup>, but he was not yet two years old when Pires went to India, and could hardly be the Prince referred to by Castanheda.

Pires may have been in his early forties when he embarked for India. In his letter of 10 Jan. 1513 to Afonso de Albuquerque, he complains that Pero Pessoa, the new factor of Malacca appointed after the death of Rui de Araújo, probably at the beginning of January 1512, just before Pires' arrival, was so young that at first he did not want to serve as scrivener under him. He says, in the same letter, that Malacca was so important that he would like to see there 'three or four men with white beards to take care of the King of Portugal's revenue'. This shows that he was then no longer a young man. Prince Afonso married in November 1490, when he was fifteen years old. Most likely it was then that young Pires, son of the King's apothecary, was appointed as apothecary to the Prince. He could scarcely be less than 22 or 23 when the Prince died in 1491. This is confirmed by Pires himself when, at the end of his description of the Islands of Bachian, he says: 'it must be quite twenty years that I have been using the said leaves in Portugal' (fol. 158v.). That being so, Pires was born *circa* 1468, was about 43 when he went to India, and about 70 when he died perhaps a little before 1540.

<sup>1</sup> This Prince Afonso, who died 21 April 1540, was made a cardinal when only eight years old.

In his letter of 7 Nov. 1512 to João Fernandes, his 'brother by blood'<sup>1</sup>, he also mentions his sister Isabel Fernandes, one Maria Godinha, perhaps his brother's wife, and one Antónia, perhaps a niece, whom he distinguishes from his brother's 'wife and children'. He also refers to 'Diogo Lopes my brother-in-law, who eats, drinks and sleeps in my house, a very good knight and a very good man'. The way in which Pires refers to 'my brother-in-law' seems to indicate that Diogo Lopes was the brother of his wife, whom he does not mention in the letter. Perhaps Pires was a widower, and here we may possibly have the reason of his departure for the East.

The letter is addressed to 'Senhor João Fernandes, in front of the Porta da Madalena, my brother'. It is possible that Pires had lived there too. The Porta da Madalena<sup>2</sup> was not far from the north-east corner of the old Terreiro do Paço, corresponding more or less to the present Praça do Comércio, better known to the British as Black Horse Square, near the end of Rua Nova dos Mercadores, then the main commercial street of Lisbon, approximately the present Rua do Comércio. There were several apothecary's shops in this street<sup>3</sup>, and it is not impossible that one of them or some other near the place belonged to Pires or to his brother, or to both. Faria e Sousa says that Tomé Pires must have been born in the Portuguese town of Leiria, because his daughter, found by Fernão Mendes Pinto in China in 1543, had the name of that town as a surname. But this is mere conjecture<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> There is nothing extraordinary in Pires' using a different surname from that used by his brother and sister. Instances of the kind are not unknown, though they are not usual.

<sup>2</sup> I was unable to find any other reference to the 'Porta da Madalena'. It must have corresponded to the old 'Porta do Ferro', also called 'Porta da Consolação', which was in the present Largo de Santo António da Sé, behind the former Church of Madalena. Castilho, *Lisboa Antiga*, I, ii, 178 *seqq.*, VI, 112 *seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> João Brandão says in his *Tratado da majestade, grandeza e abastança da cidade da Lisboa*, p. 82, that in 1552 there were nine apothecary's shops in Rua dos Mercadores.

<sup>4</sup> When Pires' letter of 27 Jan. 1516 was published, D. Francisco de São Luís (Cardeal Saraiva) asserted that he was 'a native of Leiria'. This has no more foundation than Faria e Sousa's conclusion, on which it is probably based.

In the same letter Pires refers twice to 'Senhor Jorge de Vasconcelos, to whom I owe as much, on account of the favours I have received from him, as I owe you for reasons of blood'. Jorge de Vasconcelos was the director or purveyor (*provedor*) of the *Casa da Mina e India*, an establishment in which was centred the administration of Portuguese affairs beyond the seas—a forerunner of today's Ministry for the Colonies. He also says that he was enclosing a letter to Dr. Diogo Lopes, perhaps the chief royal physician, with whom Pires might have been connected after his service as apothecary to Prince Afonso. It is only natural that Pires went to India under the protection of these two important persons. In his two letters of 10 Jan. 1513, addressed to Albuquerque and to 'Whoever is in charge of appointing officials for Malacca', Pires says that in Lisbon the King—who wrote a letter to Albuquerque recommending him for the first factorship available—had dispatched him as factor of the drugs (*feitor das drogarias*), with 30,000 *reais* and 20 quintals of drugs, at his choice, every year, counting from the day of his embarkation in Lisbon, and three men to serve him, whom he took with him to India. He was also in charge of a *botica* (supply of medicines), worth 4,000 or 5,000 *reais*, which was being sent to India.

IN INDIA BEFORE GOING TO MALACCA—The fleet of six ships under the command of D. Garcia de Noronha, a nephew of Afonso de Albuquerque, sailed from Lisbon in March and April 1511. The one before this was a fleet of three ships, commanded by João Serrão, which left Lisbon in August 1510; the next afterwards left Lisbon in March 1512. One of the ships of D. Garcia de Noronha's fleet, *Belém* ('which was one of the most beautiful ships the seas have seen', according to Barros), under the command of Cristóvão de Brito, sailed from Lisbon on 20 April and arrived at Cannanore on 8 Sept. 1511<sup>1</sup>. D. Aires da Gama, brother of the Admiral D. Vasco da Gama, sailed at the same time on the ship *Piedade*, but later he separated from Cristóvão de Brito's ship, and after sighting Bhaktal on 7 Sept.

<sup>1</sup> Barros, II, vi, 10. Castanheda (III, lxxi) says that Cristóvão de Brito sailed from Lisbon on 19 April 1511 and that he went first to Goa; Correia (II, 197) says that he arrived at Cannanore in August.



went to Cannanore<sup>1</sup>. Pires went to India on one of these ships, which, according to Barros, were the only two of D. Garcia de Noronha's fleet to arrive in India that year of 1511. Pires' letters of 7 Nov. 1512 and 10 Jan. 1513 show that he had not been long in Cannanore when Albuquerque returned to Cochin at the beginning of February 1512, after the conquest of Malacca. In the letters to his brother and to Albuquerque, Pires says that the Governor-General had summoned him from Cannanore, where he was 'factor of the drugs', to Cochin. In his letter of 27 Jan. 1516 to the King, Pires says: 'The ships of Cristóvão de Brito and Dom Aires took to Portugal a quantity of wormwood which was bought by João Dávila when I was still in Portugal.' These ships loaded as soon as they arrived in India and were back in Portugal in August 1512. It is likely that the wormwood was not bought much before it was sent to Portugal, and if Pires was still there at that time, and by the end of 1511 was already in India, he could not have come on any other ships than those of Cristóvão de Brito and D. Aires da Gama. It can be safely concluded that Pires sailed from Lisbon on 20 April and arrived in India on 8 Sept. 1511, or a day or two later<sup>2</sup>.

In his letter of 30 Nov. 1513 Albuquerque tells the King of disturbances and irregularities on the part of some of the men he had appointed as wardens of prizes of war (*quadrilheiros*) in Malacca. In view of this he decided, as soon as he knew of it, to send there 'Tomé Pires, apothecary of the Prince, because he seems to me a diligent man, so that he, with Rui de Araújo [whom Albuquerque had left as factor in Malacca] and the Captain should make an enquiry into all that matter'. Pires sailed from Cochin to Malacca on board the *Santo André*<sup>3</sup>, in company with the ship *Santo Cristo*, in April or May 1512, after eight or

<sup>1</sup> Castanheda, III, lxxi. Correia (II, 197) says that D. Aires da Gama arrived at Cannanore three days after Cristóvão de Brito.

<sup>2</sup> When Pires' letter of 27 Jan. 1516 was published, D. Francisco de São Luís said: 'I believe he (Pires) went to India between 1512 and 1515.' But this is a mere and groundless supposition.

<sup>3</sup> A vessel of 70 tons built in Cochin by Gonçalo Eanes. *Cartas*, III, 128, 355; v, 492. This vessel formed part of the fleet that in 1513 went to Java with Pires as factor, and of the squadron that in 1516-17 took him to China. The *Santo André* was lost in October 1518 when returning to Malacca. Barros, III, ii, 8.

nine months in India. From his letter of 10 Jan. 1513 to Albuquerque it seems that the two vessels met with bad weather just off Cochin, and some cargo had to be thrown overboard, including more than 400 *cruzados* worth of goods belonging to Pires.

IN MALACCA. The *Santo Cristo* and the *Santo André* arrived in Malacca in June or July, soon after the death of the factor Rui de Araújo<sup>1</sup>. The letter of 7 Nov. 1512 to his brother is the first document we have about Pires' stay in Malacca. In it he says: 'I am in Malacca as scrivener and accountant (*contador*) of the factory (*feitoria*) and controller (*veador*) of the drugs.' He was enjoying good health and he was already rich, 'more than you can imagine', in spite of having more than 400 *cruzados* worth of his goods thrown overboard on the *Santo André*, and the complaints he made later, in the letter to Afonso de Albuquerque, about his salary. He asked the latter for 50,000 *reais* more for his services as scrivener, besides the 30,000 *reais* he already received as factor or controller of the drugs. He complained also that he had been most of the time in bed with fevers. 'I have been very ill, two months in bed', he says, which shows that he had fallen ill just after he had written to his brother. His brother-in-law, Diogo Lopes, was living with him in November 1512, but on 4 Nov. 1513 he had already died and Pires was the executor of his will.

On 6 Jan. 1514 Rui de Brito, Captain of Malacca, wrote to King Manuel and to Afonso de Albuquerque telling them that in March 1513 he had sent to Java a fleet of four ships to fetch spices. The fleet was under the command of João Lopes de Alvim. Three of the vessels (*navios*) were the *São Cristóvão*, the *Santo André* and a caravel, commanded respectively by Francisco de Melo, Martim Guedes and João da Silveira. 'Tomé Pires, scrivener of this factory and its accountant, went as factor of the fleet and to superintend the cargo', adds Brito. It sailed from Malacca on 14 March and returned on 22 June 1513 with

<sup>1</sup> In a letter written from Malacca to Albuquerque on 22 Feb. 1513, F. P. Andrade says that the *Santo André* and *Santo Cristo* arrived during the course of events that happened between the day of St. John (24 June) and the day of St. James (26 July). *Cartas*, III, 54-5.

about 1,200 quintals of cloves<sup>1</sup>. From his description of Java (fols. 148-55)—‘as well as I have been able to examine and investigate, verifying my facts with many people’—we see that Pires visited the north coast of the island, at least from Cherimon to Grisee. When referring to Baros, a port on the north-west coast of Sumatra, he says: ‘I went behind this island a matter of fifteen leagues.’ This was obviously a different voyage from that to Java, but we do not know when it took place. Perhaps Pires wrote or at least intended to write another book dealing with the ‘weights and measures in all the different places’ of the East, as he seems to state when referring to the ‘Coins and weights of Java’ (fol. 150v.); but if he did, the book is now lost.

Two documents of 12 Nov. and 24 Dec. 1513 and three others of 7 Jan., 12 Jan., and 5 May 1514, show that Pires was then in Malacca; on 27 Jan. 1515, the date of *Ninachatu*’s death, he was still there, as shown in the last page of the *Suma*<sup>2</sup>. But he must have left for Cochin soon after that date. In his letter of 8 Jan. 1515 to King Manuel, Jorge de Albuquerque, the new Captain of Malacca, mentions China and Cochin China, and the kingdoms of Siam, Borneo, *Llucoes*, and *Tamjunpura*, where is the diamond-mine, ‘as Tomé Pires is bringing all these things duly explained.’ This refers of course to the *Suma Oriental*. It seems that Pires sailed from Malacca at the same time as this letter, immediately after the 27 Jan. 1515, in one of the two ships that arrived in Cochin at the end of February. We know of the arrival of these two ships through two documents dated 30 (*sic*) February and 3 March 1515, in which Pero de Mascarenhas, Captain of Cochin, orders some provisions to be supplied to a boat (*atalaia*) he was sending to Goa with the news from Malacca for Afonso de Albuquerque<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Castanheda (III, cxi) and Barros (III, v, 6) say that Alvim went to Japara to fetch some cloves salvaged from a junk shipwrecked there the year before, when returning from the first Portuguese expedition to the Spice Islands. See p. 521.

<sup>2</sup> Pires says: ‘And if by chance I should not come before the presence of the King our Lord, or of the Governor of the Indies’; ‘and that it is most important for the Governor of the Indies *to come* without delay to Malacca in force.’ This seems to imply that he was still writing in Malacca. See note p. 287.

<sup>3</sup> *Cartas*, vi, 252-3.

RETURN TO INDIA AND EMBASSY TO CHINA. From the above quotation of Jorge de Albuquerque's letter we see that Pires left Malacca with the intention of returning to Portugal. But Pires' fate was written otherwise in the Book of Destiny. Albuquerque had sailed from Goa to Ormuz on 21 Feb. 1515 and only returned about ten months later, to die before Goa on 16 December. Meanwhile the new Governor-General of India, Lopo Soares de Albergaria, had left Lisbon with a fleet of thirteen (or fifteen) ships at the beginning of April, and arrived at Goa at the beginning of September 1515. Thence he proceeded to Cannanore and Cochin, where he arrived before the end of September. With the new Governor came Fernão Peres de Andrade, whom the King sent as Captain-Major of a fleet to go from India 'to discover China' and take a Portuguese ambassador there.

Castanheda informs us that 'the King of Portugal did not send any ambassador [from Portugal], because, thinking that the King of China was near, he ordered Fernão Peres to send there one of his captains, or whoever he might choose. And the Governor would not send anyone but this Tomé Pires, whom he sent on the advice of the noblemen and captains of India, because this Tomé Pires had been apothecary of the Prince Dom Afonso, and was discreet and eager to learn, and because he would know better than anyone else the drugs there were in China'. On the other hand Correia says that the Governor, who had gone again to Goa and returned to Cochin in February 1516, 'dispatched Fernão Peres de Andrade to China according to the orders he had brought; and he sent with him one Tomé Pires, son of the apothecary of King John, who was his great friend, and because he was very prudent, and very curious of knowing all things of India'<sup>1</sup>. Thus it seems that the Governor was already an old friend of Pires, a fact that must have influenced him in his choice for such an important embassy, in spite of Pires being a man of the people, as the chroniclers do not forget to emphasize. He must have chosen Pires when he met him on his first arrival

<sup>1</sup> It is odd that Correia seems to have forgotten that Pires was already in the East when he adds: 'therefore he embarked and came with him (Andrade) on this voyage of China, because in Portugal they talked great things about China, which Tomé Pires was anxious to learn and see, in order to write about them, as indeed he did.' II, 473.

in Cochin at the end of September. By then Pires certainly was a very rich man, and he would have liked to return to Portugal after an absence of nearly five years. But the idea of going to see for himself that great and mysterious China, of which he had heard so much in Malacca, with new and exceptional possibilities of increasing his wealth, must have attracted him powerfully. Besides, he may have had a grievance against Albuquerque, who used his abilities, but never raised him above the modest post of scrivener, in spite of justified complaints and requests. Albergaria was an enemy of Albuquerque and, according to Correia, a friend of Pires, who perhaps had been strongly recommended to him in Lisbon. By that time Pires had finished or was finishing the *Suma Oriental*, which might have impressed not only the new Governor, but also many of the 'noblemen and captains of India' mentioned by Castanheda. It must also not be forgotten that Pires, as well as his father, though men of humble origin, had been intimately connected with the court, and certainly had more education than the great majority of the Portuguese noblemen then in India. In the letter to his brother, Pires refers to the 'pampering in which I was brought up and spoiled'. Barros says: 'the ambassador . . . was called Tomé Pires, whom Lopo Soares in India had chosen for that post. And although he was not a man of very much quality, being an apothecary, and serving in India to choose the drugs which should come to this Kingdom, he was the most skilled for that mission and the best fitted for it; for besides his distinction and natural inclination to letters, according to his ability, and his liberality and tact in negotiation, he was very curious in enquiring and knowing things, and he had a lively mind for everything.' Thus, the choice of the modest but clever, industrious, experienced and well-brought-up Pires for the important post of ambassador to unknown China seems less extraordinary than it perhaps appeared to some later chroniclers<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Osório, *De rebus Emmanuelis*, lib. xi, and Couto, *Decada* xii, v, 4, refer to the embassy and the ambassador, but do not even mention his name. We do not know whether the codex containing the *Suma Oriental*, now in Paris, was in Bishop Osório's possession when he wrote his famous book; but it seems that it was not, otherwise he might have shown more consideration for Tomé Pires' name.

Though Pires had left Malacca by the end of January 1515 with the idea of returning to Portugal, his very interesting letter of 27 Jan. 1516 'about the drugs and where they grow' shows clearly that he no longer thought of going back so soon. From this we can gather that before the Governor came again to Cochin in February 1516, Pires already knew that he was going to China.

FROM COCHIN TO CANTON. As soon as Albergaria returned to Cochin in February 1516 he despatched Fernão Peres de Andrade to China with a fleet of four ships<sup>1</sup>, in which went the ambassador Tomé Pires. The fleet called first at the port of Pase, in Sumatra, where it would be joined by the ship of the merchant Joannes Impole (Giovanni da Empoli), a Florentine in the Portuguese service, which was there loading with pepper to take to China. But Impole's ship had caught fire and the cargo was lost, so Andrade decided that, after calling at Malacca, he would go to Bengal before going to China. However, the Captain of Malacca, Jorge de Brito, insisted that Andrade should go to China with his fleet without delay, because he was worried about Rafael Perestrelo, who had gone there the year before in a junk with other Portuguese. Reluctantly, because the monsoon was too advanced, Andrade sailed to China on 12 Aug. 1516<sup>2</sup> on the ship *Santa Barbara*, with António Lobo Falcão in a caravel, Manuel Falcão in another ship, and Duarte Coelho in a junk. The fleet met adverse weather off the coast of Cochin China and

<sup>1</sup> Góis (iv, ii) tells us that Albergaria arrived in Cochin and at once despatched Andrade to China; Barros (III, i, 2) says that Albergaria left Cochin on 8 Feb. 1516 after despatching Andrade's fleet to China; Galvão (Hak. Soc. ed. p. 129) says that the fleet to China sailed from Cochin in April. In a very interesting and still unpublished letter written from Malacca, 10 Aug. 1518, to King Manuel, Simão de Andrade says that when he arrived in Goa, coming from the entrance of the Red Sea, on 20 Jan. 1516, he found Albergaria there. Torre do Tombo, Gaveta 15, Maço 17, no. 27. Nor are the chroniclers very clear about the fleet's composition. Barros (II, ii, 6) says that King Manuel had ordered that it should be of four sail equipped in India; Correia (II, 473) says that Andrade sailed from Cochin in company with Simão de Alcáçova, António Lobo Falcão and Jorge de Mascarenhas. However, Castanheda (iv, iii) and Góis (*ibid.*) mention Falcão alone, 'and the rest of the company he should gather in Malacca.'

<sup>2</sup> Almost all the chroniclers give this date, but Castanheda says that it was 15 August.

the ships were nearly lost. It was mid September and Andrade decided to return to Malacca. The junk went to Siam, where Duarte Coelho had been before; the other three vessels, after taking in fresh water on the coast, sailed south by way of Pulo Condore and Patani.

When Andrade arrived at Malacca he found Perestrelo back from China with great profit. He decided to postpone the expedition to Bengal, and in December went to Pase to load with pepper in order to proceed to China as soon as the monsoon permitted. In May he returned to Malacca where he found that, Jorge de Brito having died, there was a great dispute between Nuno Vaz Pereira, Brito's brother-in-law, and António Pacheco, Captain-Major of the Sea, as both wanted to succeed as captain of the fortress. After vain efforts to reconcile them, Andrade sailed from Malacca in June with a squadron of eight ships. Castanheda describes it as follows: Andrade 'commanded the *Espera*, a ship of about 200 tons, Simão de Alcáçova the *Santa Cruz*, Pero Soares the *Santo André*, Jorge de Mascarenhas the *Santiago*, Jorge Botelho a junk of a Malacca merchant called Curiaraja, Manuel de Araújo another junk of [the Malacca merchant] Pulata, and António Lobo Falcão a junk of his own; and it was a fleet of seven sail that left for China'. Barros, however, says that there was an eighth ship commanded by Martim Guedes<sup>1</sup>.

The squadron arrived at *Tamão* or *Tumon* island<sup>2</sup>, about the middle of the Canton River entrance, on 15 Aug. 1517, after meeting a Chinese fleet cruising off the island as a protection against the pirates. The Chinese shot at the Portuguese, without doing any harm, however, and Andrade did not return the fire, giving every demonstration of peace and friendliness. All the chroniclers describe, sometimes at great length and with much detail, what happened to Andrade and his squadron, from the arrival at *Tamão* till the ambassador Tomé Pires was landed at

<sup>1</sup> Correia also says seven ships, Galvão and Sousa say eight, and Góis and Osório say nine. Góis' mistake is that he says that Duarte Coelho went in a ship with Andrade; however, when Andrade arrived at *Tamão*, Coelho had been there a month, having sailed directly from Siam where he had gone the year before, when he parted from Andrade on the coast of Cochin China.

<sup>2</sup> Lin Tin Island. See note p. 121.

Canton<sup>1</sup>. As soon as he cast anchor at *Tamão*, Andrade sent a message to the captain of 'the Chinese fleet which came barking behind him', in Barros' picturesque words, 'explaining who he was and that he was bringing an Embassy of King Manuel of Portugal his Lord to the King of China.' The Chinese captain welcomed Andrade and said that 'through the Chinese who went to Malacca he also had news of the good faith and chivalry of the Portuguese', advising him to address himself to the Pei-wo (*Pio*) of Nan-t'ou, 'a man with a post like that of Admiral among us, which was the name of the office and not of the person'<sup>2</sup>. Andrade then sent a message to the Pei-wo—who at the same time had sent a messenger to enquire from Andrade who they were and what they wanted—to inform him 'that the principal reason of his coming was to bring an ambassador whom the King of Portugal, whose captain he was, was sending to the King of China with letters of peace and friendship, and he asked for pilots to take the fleet to the city of Canton'. The Pei-wo answered in very kind words, but stating that the permission would have to come from the officials in Canton. After many messages and delays, Andrade decided to wait no more and to go to Canton with some of his ships, using the Chinese pilots he had brought from Malacca. But as soon as the ships cleared the port they were suddenly struck by a storm, and only with great difficulty and much damage could they be saved. The Chinese ashore refused any assistance for repairing the Portuguese ships, but Andrade did as well as he could, and 'embarked on the ship of Martim Guedes, taking with him that of Jorge de Mascarenhas and the boats of the other ships, all very well prepared for peace as well as for war, and went to the port of Nan-t'ou, leaving Simão de Alcáçova as captain in charge of the other vessels. His

<sup>1</sup> Correia, II, 524 *seqq.*; Castanheda, IV, xxviii-xxxi; Barros, III, ii, 8; Góis, VI, xxiii. The quotations that follow in the text are from Barros.

<sup>2</sup> 'The Pei-wo [an abbreviation of the title Pei-wo Tu-chih-hui, a military commander whose chief function was to guard the coast against the depredations of the Japanese pirates] at Nan-t'ou was empowered to examine all ships that came to Canton . . . *Pei-wo* is pronounced *pi-wo* in the dialect of the coastal district, and from *pi-wo* we have the form of *Pio* in Portuguese accounts and manuscripts.' T'ien-tsê Chang, *Sino Portuguese Trade from 1514 to 1644*, p. 41. On Nan-t'ou, called *Nantoo* by Pires and *Nantó* by the chroniclers, see note p. 121.



purpose was to send, from nearer the Pei-wo, his messages and requests to be allowed to proceed to Canton, and if the permission was not given, he himself would take it'. Once at Nan-t'ou he sent ashore Impole, with trumpeters and a bodyguard, pressing the Pei-wo to let him go to Canton with the ambassador. After new delays Andrade 'set sail, in view of which the Pei-wo sent him pilots, who took the Portuguese ships to the city of Canton, where they arrived near the end of September with all the pomp and festivity he could manage'. The journey up the river took three days, because Andrade did not want to travel at night.

ARRIVAL AT CANTON. About nineteen months had elapsed since Pires sailed from Cochin before he arrived in front of Canton—a voyage that, in favourable conditions, could be made in about four months. The chroniclers do not tell us of Pires' reactions to the delays, drawbacks and annoyances he suffered during all these months, but one can well imagine his desperation, impatience and anger. However, that was nothing compared with what awaited him in China, though the first contacts with the Chinese, through the Pei-wo of Nan-t'ou, must have given him a foretaste of what was in store. It may also be supposed that often Andrade sought Pires' advice, and that they acted in accord.

Displaying flags and firing a salute with all their artillery, the Portuguese ships cast anchor off the main quay, before the Huai-yüan post station<sup>1</sup>. The Pu-chêng-shih or Provincial Treasurer, Wu T'ing-chü<sup>2</sup>, the highest Chinese authority then in Canton, remonstrated against what he said were breaches of the custom of the land on the part of the Portuguese, who furthermore came without official consent. Andrade replied that the firing of the artillery and the displaying of flags was due to his ignorance, and intended as a mark of respect, and as for his

<sup>1</sup> This information is given by a contemporaneous Chinese account of Andrade's arrival at Canton in 1517. The account, published under the Ming Dynasty in 1621 in a rather confused and sometimes inaccurate manner, was translated by W. F. Meyers, under the title *First arrival of the Portuguese in China*, in *Notes and Queries on China and Japan*, 1, 129-30. Hongkong 1868.

<sup>2</sup> Chang, *op. cit.*, p. 42. The Pu-chêng-shih is Barros' *Puchancij* and Castanheda's *Puchãci*.

coming without consent, he explained that the Pei-wo had after all given him permission to come and sent him pilots. The Puchêng-shih was satisfied and, according to the Portuguese chroniclers, sent a message to the 'Governors' of the city, the *Tutam*, the *Concam* and the *Chumpim*<sup>1</sup>, who were absent. Meanwhile Andrade ordered that no Portuguese should go ashore and no Chinese visitors should be allowed on board his ships. After a short time the three high Chinese dignitaries arrived in Canton on different days and with great ceremonial. An interview was arranged with the Portuguese. Andrade sent ashore the factor of the fleet, accompanied by a suite 'of people in gala dress, and preceded by trumpeters, in order to go with more pomp, as he saw that the Chinese were very particular in this sort of thing'. The factor told the Chinese 'Governors' how King Manuel of Portugal, 'wishing to know of and establish friendship with such a great Prince as the King of China, had sent some ships under the command of his Captain Fernão Peres de Andrade to bring an Ambassador with letters and a present; that the King of Portugal had ordered the Ambassador and the present to be delivered to the "Governors" of Canton, who could send them to the court where their King was. Andrade would return to India, and next year another Captain would go there to take back the said Ambassador, because by that time he might have accomplished his mission.' The Chinese 'Governors' 'replied with many words of satisfaction . . . and regarding the Ambassador

<sup>1</sup> These are the names given by Barros; Castanheda calls them *Tutão*, *Conquão* and *Compim*. The question as to what Chinese expressions are meant by these old Portuguese versions has been a matter of controversy, and it is still not quite settled. But according to Pelliot (*Un ouvrage sur les premiers temps de Macao*, p. 64) it seems that they may correspond to *Tu-t'ang*, *Tsung-kuan* and *Tsung-ping*. The meaning of these expressions, Prof. A. C. Moule tells me, is: *Tu-t'ang*—properly an officer in the first department of the Board of Censors, but also a title commonly given to a Viceroy (*Tsung-tu*) or provincial Governor (*Hsün-fu*); *Tsung-ping*—Brigadier-General, commander of the troops in a district called *Chên*; *Tsung-kuan*—commander of the troops in a department (or county) or subdepartment, *fu* or *chou*; the post was often held by the civil governor of the area concerned. Dalgado deals with these names, but his conclusions must be taken with all reserve. *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, s.v. *Tutão*, *Compim*, *Conquão*. The *Tutam* or Viceroy was 'Ch'ên Hsi-hsien, who then resided in Wu-chou in the present province of Kwang-si', Chang, p. 43.

they would immediately see that he was lodged ashore, and as soon as they received him they would write to their King asking for instructions'. Accordingly Pires was disembarked 'with a great thunder of artillery, and trumpets, and the men in gala dress, the Ambassador being accompanied by seven Portuguese, who remained with him to go on this embassy. They were taken to their lodgings, which were some of the noblest houses in the city, and the high officials soon came and visited the Ambassador.' The lodgings were the same houses where the Superintendent of the Bureau of Trading-Junks, whose name was Ying-hsiang, lived<sup>1</sup>. The present for the King of China, which Correia says 'should not be opened but in the presence of the King', was put in the same house under lock and key, this being entrusted to Pires. The disembarkation of the embassy must have been about the end of October 1517.

After declining several invitations to go ashore, Andrade took leave of the 'Governors', because he had received news that the Portuguese ships in *Tamão* had been attacked by the pirates, though unsuccessfully, and because some of his people in the ships in Canton were falling ill with fever and dysentery, and nine of them had died, including Impole. This time the Chinese helped fully to repair the Portuguese ships, and Andrade despatched Coelho in the junk to Malacca, where he arrived by the end of March 1518, 'with the news of how the Ambassador was received, the friendship established with the "Governors" of Canton, and how we were welcomed in those parts.' At the same time Jorge Mascarenhas was sent to discover the Liu Kiu Islands. After reaching Chang-chou and Fukien, Mascarenhas was called back by Andrade, because the latter had received news from Malacca, where the help of his squadron was needed, and because he knew from the 'Governors' of Canton that their King had told them that they could send him the Ambassador Tomé Pires. Before leaving, Andrade made proclamations 'that if anybody had been injured by or had anything owing to him from a Portuguese, let him come to him (Andrade) to obtain all satisfaction; which was much praised by the natives, and had never before been seen amongst them'. Then Andrade set sail

<sup>1</sup> Chang, p. 44.

with all his squadron in September 1518<sup>1</sup>, after nearly fourteen months in China, and arrived at Malacca 'very prosperous in honour and wealth, things rarely secured together', comments Barros.

From Malacca Andrade went directly to India, and after one year there he left in January 1520 for Lisbon, where he arrived in July. Góis ends the chapter in which he describes this visit to China by saying that Andrade went from Lisbon to Evora, where the King and Queen then were, 'who received him very well, and the King asked him very often about the things of China, and the other provinces of that region, listening to him with much pleasure, because he was curious by nature to know what happened throughout the world, in order to gather therefrom what was most convenient for the government of his estate, kingdom and dominions.' This shows the interest that the detailed news of China, brought directly by Andrade and his men, aroused in Portugal, and explains how the chroniclers had so much material for their lengthy descriptions of Canton, the arrival of Pires, and all that happened there with Andrade and his squadron.

IN CANTON. Barros says that seven Portuguese remained with Pires in Canton. In his letter, written in 1524 from Canton, Cristóvão Vieira informs us, however, that 'the people that remained in the company of Tomé Pires' were Duarte Fernandes, Francisco de Budoia<sup>2</sup>, Cristóvão de Almeida, Pedro de Faria and Jorge Álvares, all Portuguese; 'myself, Cristóvão Vieira, a Persian from Ormuz', twelve lads and five interpreters; i.e., five Portuguese, one Lusitanized Persian and seventeen others.

In spite of the message sent by the 'Governors' of Canton to Andrade, before he left *Tamão*, that their King had told them that they could send him the Portuguese Ambassador, Pires and his suite had to wait in Canton for more than fifteen months. Further on, Barros adds that 'only after three messages from Canton to the King, and after he had sent three other messages

<sup>1</sup> Correia says September, Castanheda the beginning of September, Barros the end of September, and Góis says October.

<sup>2</sup> Further on spelt *Bedois*. I know no such name in Portuguese; it suggests a copyist's miswriting for 'Bulhões', a not unusual name in Portugal, or 'Budens', a village near Lagos, in Algarve.

to the "Governors" of the city, asking in great detail about our affairs, did he give the order for the Ambassador to go'. When Andrade left Pires with the 'Governors' of Canton, he told them that one year later another Portuguese Captain would come with a fleet to fetch the Ambassador. Andrade arrived in India about the end of 1518, and the new Governor, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, who took charge of his office on 27 Dec. 1518, appointed António Correia, his nephew, to go with a fleet to China, obviously for the purpose of bringing back Tomé Pires' Embassy. But Simão de Andrade, a brother of Fernão Peres de Andrade, had written to the King of Portugal the above-mentioned letter of 10 Aug. 1518, dated from Malacca where he was then Captain of the Sea, enumerating his services and asking to be appointed captain of one of the fortresses of Malacca, Goa or Ormuz, or to be awarded some other favour. This letter must have followed together with the news brought from China by the junk of Duarte Coelho which arrived at Malacca about the end of March 1518. The King was certainly well impressed with the successful visit of Fernão Peres de Andrade to China, and though he did not appoint Simão de Andrade to any fortress, he sent him a grant authorizing his going to China as captain of a fleet after his brother's return. Thus Simão de Andrade produced the royal grant and was sent to China instead of António Correia. In April 1519 he sailed with a ship from Cochin and was joined in Malacca by three junks, the captains of which were Jorge Botelho, Álvaro Fuzeiro and Francisco Rodrigues, all under the command of Andrade. The small fleet arrived at *Tamão* in August of the same year. Contrasting singularly with his brother, Simão de Andrade was a man of not much tact and the possessor of a temperamental and violent character, features that the chroniclers do not fail to emphasize. His substitution for António Correia, a man better qualified for that mission, was the small twist which sometimes happens in the trend of history, and which became the principal cause of the unfortunate end of Pires' Embassy, and of all the misfortunes the Portuguese suffered in China for more than thirty years.

Simão de Andrade expected, quite reasonably, that when he arrived at *Tamão* he would find that Pires was back from the

embassy to the 'King of China'. Instead he ascertained that the Ambassador had not even left Canton. Pires must have been very annoyed with the unbearable Chinese delays, and naturally complained to the Portuguese Captain. Accustomed to the prestige and respect then enjoyed by the Portuguese in the East, Andrade certainly resented deeply the Chinese behaviour and took it as an affront to Portuguese pride. Not unnaturally, his indignation and irritation would be very great. It no doubt contributed to the state of mind which led to his regrettable misconduct—a point overlooked as much by past as by present-day historians, though it seems necessary for a sober judgement on this often-discussed point of history. Referring to the delays inflicted upon Pires' embassy, Barros comments: 'the majesty of this Prince (the "King of China") is such, and the affairs of this kind so slow, mainly when foreign people are involved, for all is cautions and subtleties, that much patience is needed on the part of whoever has to wait for their dilatoriness.' Patience was not Simão de Andrade's chief virtue, and he committed several acts which the Chinese authorities considered as infringements of their laws, like the building of a fort of stone and wood in *Tamão*, under the pretext of defence against the pirates, and the erection of a gallows on which a seaman was hanged. We do not know if these and other more reprehensible acts, such as the buying of kidnapped Chinese children, were practised before Pires left Canton for Peking, but no doubt they were portentous and had a most unfortunate bearing on future events.

FROM CANTON TO PEKING. Cristóvão Vieira tells us, in his letter of 1524, that Pires left Canton for Peking on 23 Jan. 1520<sup>1</sup>. Though Barros utilized this letter for compiling his detailed description of the embassy's adventures in China, he received information from other sources—one of them, perhaps, being Pires himself. It may be taken for granted that Pires wrote several times reporting the progress and events of his voyage after he left Cochin and at least some of his letters reached India

<sup>1</sup> All these dates referring to Pires' journey to Peking and back to Canton are given by Vieira and were utilized by Barros. Góis (IV, xxv) says, obviously in error, that Simão de Andrade arrived at *Tamão* in Aug. 1518, and that Pires left Canton in Oct. 1519 and arrived at Peking in Jan. 1520.

and Lisbon. Correia even says that Pires 'in the time of the Governor [D. Duarte de Menezes, who governed India from January 1522 to December 1524] sent him [the Governor] a book in which he gave an account of the riches and greatness of the King of China, which appeared to be hardly credible' (II, 678). Unfortunately there is no trace of anything written by Pires from China.

The embassy sailed up the river in three Chinese galleys, with silken awnings and displaying Portuguese flags. At the foot of the mountain range north of Kwang-tung they left the boats and proceeded through the Mei-ling pass in litters, on horseback and afoot. Duarte Fernandes, one of Pires' suite, died in these mountains. From there Pires wrote to Simão de Andrade reporting on the progress of his journey. Thence they proceeded northward to Nanking, where they arrived in May 1520. The Emperor was in that city, but he would not receive the Portuguese ambassador there, and sent him word to proceed to Peking and wait there for his arrival. Through Vieira we know that on the 2nd August letters were sent to Canton, which were delivered to Jorge Botelho and Diogo Calvo in *Tamão*. Vasco Calvo says that the letters were addressed to D. Aleixo de Menezes, and that Jorge Álvares was asked to take them<sup>1</sup>. We do not know the date of Pires' arrival in Peking, but he was already there when the Emperor entered the city in February 1521<sup>2</sup>. While the Emperor was in Nanking, there arrived an ambassador sent by the ex-king of Malacca to complain to his suzerain against the Portuguese 'sea-robbers' who had taken his kingdom, and asking for help as he was the Emperor's vassal. He had brought one letter from his king, and at the same time the Emperor received another letter from two mandarins of Peking, and yet another from the mandarins of Canton piling up complaints against the Portuguese, mainly on account of the

<sup>1</sup> Fol. 130v. Though Calvo wrote *Dom Estevão*, this is a mistake for *Dom Aleixo*, as will be seen below. Jorge Álvares could not have taken the letter because he died in *Tamão* in 1521. He was the first Portuguese who went to China, in 1513, and there he was buried in 1521, as I have shown elsewhere. *Expansão Portuguesa através do Pacífico*, p. 164. See notes pp. 120, 283.

<sup>2</sup> Góis (IV, xxv) says that Pires 'spent four months in the way' from Canton to Peking, but he is obviously referring to the time spent in actual travel.

misdeeds of Simão de Andrade in *Tamão*. Furthermore, Pires had brought with him three letters for the Emperor from King Manuel, Fernão Peres de Andrade and the 'Governors' of Canton. Andrade's letter had been mistranslated into Chinese by the interpreters; they wrote according to the custom of the country, saying among other things that the King of Portugal wanted to be a vassal of the Emperor of China. The letter of the Canton 'Governors' had been written and handed to Pires while they were still under the good impression left by Fernão Peres de Andrade. When the sealed letter of King Manuel was opened and translated in the imperial palace, it was found that its spirit was (of course) quite different from that of the letter written by the interpreters in the name of Andrade<sup>1</sup>. The interpreters accepted responsibility for Andrade's letter, but an inquiry was opened and all the members of the Embassy were ordered not to approach the imperial palace. Though, according to Vieira, the Emperor magnanimously said 'these people do not know our customs; gradually they will get to know them', more charges, some of them quite fantastic, were being brought against the Portuguese. After telling us that one of the charges was that 'we bought kidnapped children of important people and ate them roasted', Barros comments: 'They believe this to be true, as being about people of whom they had never heard; and we were the terror and fear of all that East, so it was not too much to believe that we did such things, just as we too think of them and other far-flung countries, about which we have but little knowledge.' Some early Chinese historians go even so far as to give vivid details of the price paid for the children and how they were roasted<sup>2</sup>.

Meanwhile the Emperor Wu-tsung died three months after his arrival in Peking, and was succeeded by Shih-tsung, a youth of fourteen. The embassy was then ordered to withdraw from the capital and return to Canton with the presents brought for the Emperor, which were refused. Some high officials in the court declared that the embassy was not genuine, and wanted strong action taken against the Portuguese, maintaining that

<sup>1</sup> Vieira gives many details about all these letters. *Op. cit.*, fol. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Chang, p. 48.



they should die as spies; but their diplomatic status saved them for the time being. However, according to Vieira, of the five interpreters, one died of sickness and 'the other four were beheaded in Peking for having left the country and brought the Portuguese to China', and their servants were given as slaves to the mandarins as having belonged to traitors.

BACK IN CANTON. Finally Pires and his companions left Peking on 22 May and arrived in Canton on 22 Sept. 1521. Francisco de Budoia died during the journey. From Peking instructions were sent to Canton that the ambassador and his suite should be kept in custody, and that only after the Portuguese had evacuated Malacca and returned it to its king, a vassal of the Emperor of China, would the members of the embassy be liberated.

In the meantime, after the departure of Simão de Andrade, the ship *Madalena*, which belonged to D. Nuno Manuel, coming from Lisbon under the command of Diogo Calvo, arrived at *Tamão* with some other vessels from Malacca, among them the junk of Jorge Álvares, which the year before could not sail with Simão de Andrade's fleet, because she had sprung a leak. When the instructions issued from Peking against the Portuguese arrived in Canton, together with the news of the death of the Emperor, the Chinese seized Vasco Calvo, a brother of Diogo Calvo, and other Portuguese who were in Canton trading ashore. On 27 June 1521 Duarte Coelho arrived with two junks at *Tamão*. Besides capturing some of the Portuguese vessels, the Chinese blockaded Diogo Calvo's ship and four other Portuguese vessels in *Tamão* with a large fleet of armed junks. A few weeks later Ambrósio do Rego arrived with two other ships. As many of the Portuguese crews had been killed in the fighting, slaughtered afterwards or taken prisoners, by this time there were not enough Portuguese for all the vessels, and thus Calvo, Coelho and Rego resolved to abandon the junks in order the better to man the three ships. They set sail on 7 September and were attacked by the Chinese fleet, managing however to escape, thanks to a providential gale which scattered the enemy junks, and arrived at Malacca in October 1521. Vieira mentions other junks which arrived in China with Portuguese aboard; all were

attacked, and the entire crews were killed fighting or were taken prisoners and slaughtered later. From Diogo Calvo's ship there remained, besides Vasco Calvo, seven other Portuguese and four servants, who escaped the slaughter because they said that they belonged to Pires' embassy. But many others died in prison, some of hunger, many strangled, 'after carrying boards stating that they should die as sea-robbers', one struck on the head with a mallet, and others beaten to death.

Pires and his companions arrived at Canton a fortnight after the three Portuguese ships had escaped from *Tamão*, and they found themselves in a most difficult position. They were immediately summoned to the presence of the *Pochanci*<sup>1</sup>, and Pires was told to write to the Portuguese in Malacca telling them to return the country to its ex-king. Let Vieira describe for us what then happened: 'Tomé Pires replied that he had not come for that purpose, nor was it meet for him to discuss such a matter; that it would be evident from the letter he had brought that he had no knowledge of anything else. . . . With these questions he kept us on our knees for four hours; and when he had tired himself out, he sent each one back to the prison in which he was kept. On 14 August 1522 the *Pochanci* put fetters on the hands of Tomé Pires, and on those of the company he put fetters, and irons on their feet, the fetters soldered on their wrists; and they took from us all the property that we had. Thus, with chains on our necks, and through the city, they took us to the house of the *Anchaci*<sup>2</sup>. There they knocked off our fetters and put on us stronger chains; on our legs fetters were soldered, and chains on our necks; and from there they sent us to this prison. At the entrance to this prison António de Almeida died from the heavy fetters that we bore; our arms were swollen, and our legs cut by the tight chains. This, with a decision that two days afterwards they would kill us. Before it was night, they put fetters once more on Tomé Pires and conducted him alone, barefoot and without a cap, amid the hootings of boys, to the prison of Kuang-chou-fu (*Cancheufu*), in order to see the goods that they had taken from us, which had to be described; and the mandarin

<sup>1</sup> Pu-chêng-shih or Provincial Treasurer. Cf. Ferguson, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> An-ch'a-shih or Provincial Judge. Cf. Chang, p. 56.

clerks who were present wrote down ten and stole three hundred . . . The goods that they took from us were twenty quintals of rhubarb, one thousand five hundred or six hundred rich pieces of silk, a matter of four thousand silk handkerchiefs which the Chinese call sheu-pa (*xopas*) of Nanking, and many fans, and also three *arrobas* of musk in powder, one thousand three hundred pods of musk, four thousand odd taels of silver and seventy or eighty taels of gold and other pieces of silver, and all the cloths, pieces of value, both Portuguese and Chinese, the pachak of Jorge Botelho, incense, liquid storax, tortoise-shells, also pepper and other trifles<sup>1</sup>. These were delivered into the factory of Kuang-chou-fu as the property of robbers. The present of our Lord the King which he sent to the King of China is in the factory of the Pochanci' (fols. 106-7). Ferguson sums up thus: 'After a farcical show of respect for the members of the embassy, extending over ten months, these were all imprisoned, and the whole of their property and the presents from the king of Portugal to the emperor were confiscated, the lion's share, as might be expected, falling to the mandarins'<sup>2</sup>. Fernão Mendes Pinto tells us that in 1541 he saw the mandarin of *Nouday* 'mounted on a good horse, with certain cuirasses of red velvet with gilt studs of ancient date, which we afterwards learnt belonged to one Tomé Pires, whom the King Dom Manuel of glorious memory sent as ambassador to China, in the ship of Fernão Peres de Andrade, when Lopo Soares de Albergaria was governing the State of India'<sup>3</sup>.

Meanwhile from India, where the news of this state of affairs had not yet arrived, another fleet of four ships under the command of Martim Afonso de Melo Coutinho sailed for China in April 1522. Coutinho had left Lisbon just one year before, commissioned by Dom Manuel with a message of good-will to the

<sup>1</sup> This is according to the Lisbon original fragments of Vieira's letter. Barros (III, vi, 2), following the Paris MS (ff. 106-7), gives a slightly different list (see p. xlvii below) of the goods confiscated. But instead of saying, like Vieira, that the goods were taken from *them*, he says that they were taken from *him* (Pires). This alteration was perhaps the reason for Sousa's unfair comment (I, iii, 6). There would be nothing extraordinary in all those goods belonging to Pires, who had already amassed a considerable fortune even before going to China; and after all the goods did not belong exclusively to him.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.

<sup>3</sup> *Peregrinação*, LXV.

Emperor of China, for which purpose he carried another ambassador with him. He arrived at Malacca in July and there he learned of the misfortunes that had happened to the Portuguese in China. Nevertheless he determined to continue his journey, accompanied by another ship and a junk with Ambrósio do Rego and Duarte Coelho, who reluctantly and only under pressure from Jorge de Albuquerque, then Captain of Malacca, consented to go back to China, where the year before they had had a narrow escape, as seen above. Coutinho's fleet of six sail left Malacca on 10 July and arrived at *Tamão* in August 1522. They were soon attacked by the Chinese fleet. The Portuguese had many men killed and taken prisoners, two ships and the junk were lost, and after vain efforts to re-establish relations with the Cantonese authorities, Coutinho returned with the other ships to Malacca, where he arrived in the middle of October 1522. Though some chroniclers put the blame on the Chinese, Chang quotes Chinese sources which assert that the Portuguese should be held responsible for the outbreak of hostilities<sup>1</sup>.

According to Vieira the mandarins again ordered that Pires should write a letter to the King of Portugal, which the ambassador of the ex-king of Malacca should take to Malacca, in order that his country and people might be returned to their former master; if a satisfactory reply did not come, the Portuguese ambassador would not return. A draft letter in Chinese was sent to the imprisoned Portuguese, from which they wrote three letters, for King Manuel, the Governor of India and the Captain of Malacca. These letters were delivered to the Cantonese authorities on 1 Oct. 1522. The Malay ambassador was not anxious to be the courier, nor was it easy to find another. At last a junk with fifteen Malays and fifteen Chinese sailed from Canton on 31 May 1523 and reached Patani. In his letter of 1 Jan. 1524 to King Manuel, Jorge de Albuquerque, Captain of Malacca, says that D. Sancho Henriques, Captain-major of the Sea at Malacca, had gone to blockade Bintang at the beginning of July 1523, and thence went to Patani with Ambrósio do Rego and another ship to wait for a Portuguese junk that was in Siam,

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 59.

'and to learn news from China from the Chinese that come there.' Ambrósio do Rego returned first to Malacca with news, which he learned from 'an interpreter who acted between the Chinese and Portuguese when they were at peace. He told him that there were living [in Canton] from eight to thirteen Portuguese, and it was not certain how many, because one said eight and another thirteen; and that they said that the ambassador Tomé Pires was still living. A message came to the king of Bintang from his ambassador [in Canton], and the man who brought it soon returned. The report which the king of Bintang was spreading in the country is that the Chinese intended to come against Malacca. This is not very certain, though there are things that may happen. If they come, they will do great harm, unless the Captain-major [of India] shall come in time, as I am writing to him. However, in my opinion they will not do so, as they also say in China that they desire peace with us'<sup>1</sup>. This document sheds some light on the matter. It is obvious that the three letters brought in the junk from Canton never reached their destination, being very probably retained by agents of the ex-king of Malacca, a master intriguer who had plenty of reasons for hating the Portuguese, and perhaps even Pires in particular. The man who brought a message to the king of Bintang 'soon returned', says Jorge de Albuquerque. Vieira tells us that the junk 'returned with a message from the king of Malacca, and reached Canton on the 5th September' (fol. 110v.). We do not know what the message was, but we may well guess, for, as Vieira states, 'On the day of St. Nicholas [6 Dec.] in the year 1522 they put boards on them [the Portuguese prisoners] with the sentence that they should die and be exposed in pillories as robbers. The sentences said: "Petty sea robbers sent by the great robber falsely; they come to spy out our country; let them die in pillories as robbers."' A report was sent to the king according to the information of the mandarins, and the king confirmed the sentence. On 23 Sept. 1523 these twenty-three persons were each one cut in pieces, to wit, heads, legs, arms, and their private members placed in their mouths, the trunk of the body being divided into two pieces round the belly. In the streets of Canton,

<sup>1</sup> *Cartas*, IV, 41-2.

outside the walls, in the suburbs, through the principal streets they were put to death, at distances of one crossbow shot from one another, that all might see them, both those of Canton and those of the environs, in order to give them to understand that they thought nothing of the Portuguese, so that the people might not talk about Portuguese. Thus our ships were captured through two captains not agreeing, and so all in the ships were taken, they were all killed, and their heads and private members were carried on the backs of the Portuguese in front of the mandarins of Canton with the playing of musical instruments and rejoicing, were exhibited suspended in the streets, and were then thrown into the dunghills. And from henceforward it was resolved not to allow any more Portuguese into the country nor other strangers' (fol. 109).

Vieira's letter, probably finished in November 1524, says that of all the Portuguese only he and Vasco Calvo were still alive, and that 'Tomé Pires died here of sickness in the year 1524 in May'. This date, however, cannot be accepted without much reserve, as we shall see.

VIEIRA'S AND CALVO'S LETTERS. The copies of the two letters from Cristóvão Vieira and Vasco Calvo extant in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris were probably made in the second half of the sixteenth century. Though the letters in these copies are dated 1534 and 10 Nov. 1536, it is not difficult to show that they were both written in 1524, Vieira's being finished just a little before Calvo finished his on the 10th November. The two letters, besides being very important for the study of Pires' biography, are outstanding documents in the history of the first European relations with China; the date at which they were written is therefore important, and it is time that this point was cleared up.

In the first place neither of the letters refers to any event later than 1524; it is extremely unlikely that during the ten or twelve years between 1524 and the supposed dates of the letters nothing worth mentioning had happened. There are two points in the letters suggesting that they were written after 1524, but they are copyist's mistakes. In Vieira's letter it is stated: 'In the year 1524 they equipped a fleet of salt junks which they took by force; and until the year 1528 they prepared fleets' (fol. 118v.). 1528 is

a copyist's mistake for 1523. Further on Vieira asks for a Portuguese fleet to be sent to China, and adds: 'The first thing will be to destroy the [Chinese] fleet if they should have one, which I believe they have not' (fol. 122v.). Similar mistakes are frequent in the letter. For instance, the heading of Vieira's letter says that Fernão Peres de Andrade reached China in 1520, though he arrived in 1517. On fol. 108v. it is stated that Martim Afonso de Melo Coutinho went from Malacca to China in 1521, but in fol. 121 it is correctly said that he arrived in 1522. In the Paris copy it is said that among the goods taken from the Portuguese by the Chinese were 'three thousand and odd pods of musk, four thousand five hundred taels of silver' (fol. 107), but in the Lisbon original fragments it reads 'one thousand three hundred pods of musk, four thousand and odd' [taels of silver]. The Paris copy states that 'sixty died in the ship' (fol. 108v.), while the Lisbon fragments say correctly that 'seven died in the ship'. Where the Paris copy says 'On the 23rd of September 1523 these twenty-four persons' (fol. 109), the Lisbon fragments say 'On the 24th September 1523 these 24 persons'. Where the Paris copy says 'thirty leagues' (fol. 112v.) the Lisbon fragments say 'forty leagues'. Where the Paris copy says 'some eight to ten leagues' (fol. 113), the Lisbon fragments say 'twenty to thirty leagues'.

The other point is in Calvo's letter: 'Let these letters, Sir, be shown to the captains-major; let them not be kept secret, Sir; for if Jorge Álvares had shown the letters that he took to Dom Estêvão and they had known about us, I am confident that we should not have remained here in this prison either dead or alive. Within two years either the governor would have sent, or from Malacca something would have been ordered by means of which we should have been rescued from here' (fol. 130v). Ferguson<sup>1</sup> thought that this 'Dom Estêvão' was Dom Estêvão da Gama, the son of Dom Vasco da Gama, who in 1534 was captain of Malacca and in 1540-2 was Governor General of India. But there is another mistake here: the copyist wrote 'Dom Estêvão' where the original must have had 'Dom Aleixo'. Dom Aleixo de Menezes, nephew of the Governor-General Lopo Soares de Albergaria, went with a fleet to Malacca in 1518 and in 1520 he

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 29 and 157.

was acting Governor-General of India while the Governor-General Diogo de Sequeira went to the Red Sea<sup>1</sup>. In 1521 Dom Aleixo was in Cochin where he despatched several ships for Malacca and China, among which probably was the ship of Diogo Calvo that arrived at *Tamão* in 1521. There was not then any 'Dom Estêvão' in India to whom letters could have been sent. The letters in question may be those written 2 Aug. 1520 from Nanking, or Peking, mentioned above, and perhaps some more written by Vasco Calvo from Canton. The reference to Jorge Álvares, who died 8 July 1521 in *Tamão* (a fact unknown to Calvo), as taking the letters to 'Dom Estêvão' (da Gama) who arrived for the first time in India 11 Sept. 1524, is an insuperable anachronism. Many similar mistakes were committed by the copyist. For instance, in the heading of Vieira's letter he wrote that it is from Critóvão Vieira and Vasco Calvo, and in the heading of Calvo's letter he wrote that it is from Cristóvão Vieira. A collation of the Paris copy with the Lisbon original fragments of Vieira's letter reveals many such mistakes.

In the above quoted passage Calvo shows his surprise because within two years nothing had been done to rescue him and his fellow prisoners. It is obvious that he referred to letters written after he had been made a prisoner, which he reckoned were received in 1522; thus he was writing in 1524. There is evidence in his letter that he wrote at the same time as Vieira: 'where Cristóvão Vieira writes' (fol. 132v.), he says; 'as Cristóvão Vieira relates in these letters' (fol. 133); 'proposals after the tenor of those set forth in the letters of Cristóvão Vieira' (fol. 134v.); 'Cristóvão Vieira has written with one of our pens' (fol. 135v.). Other points in the letter might be interpreted as confirming the dates of 1534 and 1536; their careful examination, however, shows that they do not contradict the date 1524. Above all there is Barros' testimony. There is no doubt that the

<sup>1</sup> Barros, III, iii, 10. In a letter written from Cochin, 2 Nov. 1520, to King Manuel, the Auditor of India, Pedro Gomes Teixeira, says that during Sequeira's absence the government was divided between 'Dom Aleixo, in charge of the finance and administration of the sea, and Captain Rui de Melo, in charge of the people ashore'. This important and lengthy document was published for the first time by A. Cortesão and H. Thomas, *Carta das Novas*, pp. 127-38.



chronicler utilized the two letters in the composition of the chapters in which he describes these events. It is Barros himself who says: 'And according to the two letters that we received two or three years later (after the return of Pires to Canton and his imprisonment) from these two men, Vasco Calvo and Cristóvão Vieira, who were in prison in Canton.' This is quite positive, and coupled with the evidence contained in the letters themselves, leaves no doubt about their date: they were both written in 1524 and perhaps both finished in November; the dates 1534 and 1536 are the copyist's mistake.

It is surprising that Ferguson, after translating and editing the two letters so carefully, did not notice that their dates could not be 1534 and 1536, though he expresses amazement at some of the anachronisms and incongruities above mentioned, which he tried in vain to explain or could not understand at all. Neither have those who consulted and quoted Ferguson's work noticed or mentioned them.

AFTER 1524. Though Vieira says that 'Pero de Freitas in this prison and Tomé Pires died of sickness in the year 1524 in May' (fol. 112), he asks further on for a Portuguese fleet of ten or fifteen ships to be sent to China, and that its captain should write to the Chinese authorities demanding the release of Tomé Pires—'Let the ambassador be sent to me before I arrive in Canton' (fol. 123). This, however, might have meant that the Portuguese captain was to pretend that he did not know of Pires' death. It may also be that the sentence was badly written or badly copied, as in many other instances, and that its true meaning was—'Pero de Freitas was in this prison with Tomé Pires, and he (Pero de Freitas) died here of sickness. . . .' But the more likely meaning is—'Pero de Freitas died in this prison, and Tomé Pires died of sickness [somewhere else] in May 1524.' As a matter of fact Vieira shows in other parts of the letter that he seemed convinced that Pires was dead.

Only Vieira refers, and not very clearly, to Pires' death in 1524. Barros says that after Coutinho's ship escaped from *Tamão*, the Chinese 'made many of our people prisoners', and that 'they finally killed Tomé Pires, and also those taken prisoner with him, and total war then existed between us and

them. And according to what some of our people afterwards wrote, more died of hunger in prison and the bad treatment they received there, than by condemnation.' The executions took place only after the confirmation from the Emperor had arrived at Canton in September 1523. Though Barros is obviously referring to Vieira's letter, he does not mention the date of Pires' death. Castanheda, who at the time was in India, says that the King of China 'ordered the arrest of our ambassador and those who were with him, and ordered that they should be kept separated from one another, and that all their goods should be confiscated; and some say that the ambassador fell ill with grief and died; and others say that he died by poison. And because I was not able to learn the particulars of these [events], I relate it briefly in this manner.' However, Correia, who for almost all those years was also in India, says quite positively—'It was the King (of China)'s pleasure to order the arrest of our ambassador, and that he should be taken to another town, where he lived for a long time (*e levar a outra terra em que esteue muyto tempo*), till it should be the King's pleasure to speak to him; but he never more let him come back, and there he died.'

Now Fernão Mendes Pinto says in the *Peregrinação* (xci) that when in 1543 he passed through the town of *Sampitay*, on his way from Nanking to Peking, he met a Christian woman who, after showing a cross tattooed on her arm and inviting him and his companions to her house, told them 'that her name was Inês de Leiria, and that her father was called Tomé Pires, who went from this kingdom [i.e. Portugal] as ambassador to the King of China, but because of a disturbance that a captain of ours made in Canton the Chinese regarded him as a spy and not as an ambassador as he said, and seized him with twelve other men he had with him, and after they had sentenced them and subjected them to many floggings and tortures, of which five soon died, they banished the others, separated from one another, to divers places, where they died devoured by lice; only one of them was living, who was called Vasco Calvo, a native of a place in our country named Alcochete, for so she had many times heard from her father, shedding many tears when he spoke of this. And that it chanced to her father to be banished

to that district where he married her mother, because she had some property of her own, and made her a Christian; and during the whole twenty-seven years that he abode there married to her they both lived very catholically, converting many heathen to the faith of Christ<sup>1</sup>. When living in Almada, opposite Lisbon, on the other side of the Tagus, Pinto was visited in October 1582 by the Jesuits G. Maffei, J. Rebelo and G. Gonçalves, who went to gather from him some information about China and Japan. Maffei left a note recording the conversation they had with Pinto, in which, among other things, we read—‘He says that there are some other traces of Christianity in China, which are relics of Tomé Pires, the first ambassador to go there and who died in China, and of his companions. He says that a daughter of [one of] these [men]<sup>2</sup> in memory of her father’s Christianity had a cross tattooed on her arm near her hand, and when she met some Portuguese she tucked up her sleeve and showed the cross, saying in Portuguese the only part she knew of the Paternoster, which produced amazement and tears on either side. She was rich and sheltered them in her house. Of the same company there was also in the city of Kwang-si (*Cansi*), before it was destroyed by the Tartars, a certain Portuguese married to a Chinese woman with four children.’ Pinto describes also how in 1544 he encountered in the town of *Quansi*, not far from Peking, an old man who, after some incidents, told him: ‘I am, my brother, a poor Portuguese Christian, by name Vasco Calvo, brother of Diogo Calvo who was captain of the ship of D. Nuno Manuel, a native of Alcochete; and it is now twenty-seven years since I was made a captive with Tomé Pires, whom Lopo Soares sent as ambassador to this Chinese King, and who afterwards came to a disastrous end due to a disturbance of a Portuguese captain’ . . . Then ‘he began again telling me about all his life,

<sup>1</sup> *Peregrinação*, cxvi.

<sup>2</sup> The Portuguese rendering is not very clear. Though it is not expressly stated here that the father was Pires, the *Peregrinação* is quite positive on the subject. This note was found by the learned Orientalist Rev. G. Schurhammer, S.J., among Maffei’s papers in an archive of the Society of Jesus. Schurhammer published it for the first time under the title *Um documento inédito sobre Fernão Mendes Pinto* in *Revista de Historia*, xiii, 81–8, Lisboa 1924, and then translated it into German in his work *Fernão Mendez Pinto und seine ‘Peregrinação’*, pp. 35–42, Leipzig 1927.

and all the rest of his adventures, since he left this kingdom until then, and also about the death of the ambassador Tomé Pires and of the others whom Fernão Peres de Andrade left with him in Canton to go to the King of China, which, according to what he told me, does not very well agree with what our chroniclers write'<sup>1</sup>.

Faria e Sousa was the first chronicler to use Pinto's information in a full chapter rectifying what he, following Barros, had written before about the supposed death of Pires in Canton<sup>2</sup>. Then Abel-Rémusat<sup>3</sup>, in 1829, gives an account of Pires' adventures in China in part based also on Pinto's information. R. H. Major, in his excellent Introduction (p. xxxvii) to Mendoza's *History of China*, quotes Rémusat's account in order to complete Mendoza's description of Pires' embassy, which is more or less based on Barros, and defends Pinto against William Congreve's lines in his *Love for Love* (1695) 'Ferdinand Mendes Pinto was but a type of thee, thou liar of the first magnitude'<sup>4</sup>. Commenting on Major's defence of Pinto, Ferguson writes: 'I am astonished that such an able scholar as Mr. Major, in his Introduction to the Hakluyt Society's edition of Mendoza, should, after referring to Mendez Pinto's alleged adventures in China, conclude: "Upon the whole, his remarks leave no doubt, we think, of the truth of his having been an eye-witness of what he records" ' (p. 36n). For Ferguson all that Pinto says about Pires is 'fabrication', 'unblushing falsehood', 'mendacity'. No less surprising is a similar attitude assumed by another outstanding scholar, Henri Cordier. After transcribing part of Rémusat's account of the encounters of Pinto with Inês de Leiria and Vasco Calvo, Cordier, without giving any reason

<sup>1</sup> *Peregrinação*, CXVI.

<sup>2</sup> When, at the end of the preliminaries to his *Ásia Portuguesa*, vol. I, Sousa mentions the books he utilized, he says: 'Many doubt the veracity of Fernão Mendes Pinto's *Historia Indica*; but as many, who travelled through those parts, say that he could have told things still more difficult to believe. I hold him to be very truthful, for many compelling reasons; but if he is not, it is in things which are outside my province.'

<sup>3</sup> *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*, II, 203-6.

<sup>4</sup> It must be said that Congreve puts the taunt at Pinto in the mouth of Foresight, the fool in the play, 'an illiterate old fellow, peevish and positive, superstitious, and pretending to understand Astrology, Palmistry, Physiognomy, Omens, Dreams, etc.'

whatever, dismisses the whole question in six words: 'Pinto mentait et Rémusat se trompait<sup>1</sup>.'

Can this matter be dismissed so summarily? As pointed out above, Barros does not mention any special date for Pires' death, though he was following Vieira's letter which states that Pires died in May 1524; and the copy of Vieira's letter, published by Ferguson, is full of mistakes of every kind. Castanheda, who in 1528 went to India where he lived for about ten years, shows that he does not know anything positive about Pires' death and still less its date; but he asserts that the order for the arrest of Pires and his companions determined that 'they should be kept separated from one another'. Correia, who in 1512 went to India and lived there for many years (in India, where he died, he wrote the *Lendas*), occupying such posts as that of Afonso de Albuquerque's secretary, says, quite positively, that after Pires' arrest in Canton he was taken to another town where he lived for a long time. Furthermore, Ferguson himself quotes the contemporary Chinese source, mentioned by Mayers in *Notes and Queries*, in which it is stated that 'the interpreter was subjected to capital punishment and his men were sent back in custody to Canton, and expelled beyond the frontiers of the province'. Mayers says in a footnote that by the interpreter in question Tomé Pires himself was meant. Ferguson, basing his statement on Vieira's letter, declares that this is an error: 'it was the native interpreters who were beheaded.' Cordier (p. 521), however, agrees with Mayers' interpretation. What seems more probable is that the confusing reference means that the interpreters were beheaded, and the Portuguese who escaped death were expelled from Canton province. As has already been shown, it seems from what Vieira says that Pires was in another prison, and it is not clear that he meant that the ambassador had died also. Besides, it is rather strange that Vieira should give so much detailed information about the death of his other companions and be so brief about the death of the most important of the Portuguese in Canton—the ambassador himself. He does not even say the day on which the death occurred, or what happened to the body. Pires was in another prison, and obviously Vieira obtained

<sup>1</sup> *L'Arrivée des Portugais en Chine*, p. 520.

his information second-hand. That Vieira and Calvo were not very well informed is shown, among other things, by their ignorance of the death of Jorge Álvares in 1521 in *Tamão*. It is quite possible that the Chinese purposely deceived Vieira, telling him that Pires had died, when in fact he was sent out of Canton according to the instructions from Peking. Against Vieira's doubtful statement there is some fairly positive evidence to show that it is unjustifiable to label Pinto's information as 'unblushing falsehood'.

An important point overlooked by Ferguson in Vieira's letter was this—"The women of the interpreters as also those of Tomé Pires that were left in this city in the present year were sold as the property of traitors' (fol. 112). If Pires had 'women' before 1524, and was about fifty when he arrived at Canton in 1517, there is nothing so extraordinary in the fact of Pinto meeting in 1543 a woman who told him she was a daughter of the unfortunate Portuguese ambassador and a Chinese woman. As regards Pinto's meeting with Calvo, Ferguson based his assertion of 'mendacity' mainly on the supposition of Calvo's letter having been written in 1536. After what has been said above it is more reasonable to assume that Pinto was truthful than to say, as Ferguson did—"We may take it as absolutely certain that Vasco Calvo died in prison in Canton within a year or two of writing the letter of 1536".<sup>1</sup> There is, however, an obvious incongruity in Pinto's statement that Inês de Leiria told him that Pires had been married to her mother for twenty-seven years, which is repeated when he reports that Calvo told him that twenty-seven years had elapsed since he and Pires were made captives; as

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 38. Ferguson does not give the reason for his 'absolute certainty'. In the introduction to his edition of the *Peregrinação* (Lisboa 1908) J. I. de Brito Rebelo had already remarked (p. xxiv) that Ferguson had overlooked the reference in Vieira's letter to 'the women of the interpreters and also those of Tomé Pires' and the groundless though peremptory assertion about Vasco Calvo. Ferguson's bias against Pinto is only too evident. On Pinto's references to the terrible massacre of the Portuguese by the Chinese in Liampo and Chang-chou (*Chincheo*) in 1545 and 1549, Ferguson comments: 'I consider both these stories to be pure fiction, without any basis in fact; and I even feel very doubtful whether such an island as "Lampacau" ever existed except in the brain of the writer' (p. 39). Pires was right, however, as has been recognized by Cordier himself (*op. cit.*, p. 523) among others.

their arrest happened in 1522, only twenty-two years had elapsed, not twenty-seven. This inaccuracy seems more strange because Pinto shows that he read what the chroniclers had written on the matter, and he could easily have checked his reckoning<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, if Pinto really wanted to invent a whole story about Pires, for the purpose of deceiving his readers, he could easily have made it more true to life by adjusting his description to the Chroniclers' accounts and mentioning Vieira, about whom he says nothing. That he did not do so is one more proof of Pinto's good faith. Pinto returned from the East to Portugal in 1558, and only began writing the *Peregrinação* eleven or so years later; after so many adventures it is not likely that he had been able to keep a book of notes, at least of that early period<sup>2</sup>. He was writing from memory—and a wonderful memory it was. It is not surprising that due to a *lapsus memoriae* or even a simple *lapsus calami* he wrote twenty-seven instead of twenty-two years.

Inês de Leiria's account, as Pinto has transmitted it to us, needs also some sort of adjustment in one or two minor points. As regards the inaccuracies it must be borne in mind that she spoke to Pinto in Chinese, because she knew only a few words of Portuguese, and after more than twenty-six years Pinto can be excused for committing a few not very serious mistakes when writing from memory. He could not even remember the year of Pires' death, which Inês de Leiria and Calvo must have told him; if he really wanted to deceive he could invent one date more. Inês' mother may have been one of the women of Tomé Pires, referred to by Vieira as having been 'sold as the property of traitors' in 1524. When in 1520 Pires went from Nanking to Peking by the Grand Canal, and also on his return some months later, he passed by the city of *Sampitay*, as Pinto did twenty-

<sup>1</sup> Pinto did not begin to write the *Peregrinação* before 1569; both *Livro v* of Castanheda's *Historia* and Barros' *Decada* III were published for the first time in 1554 and 1563 respectively. Brito Rebelo, still convinced that Pires really died in Canton in 1524, thinks that when the MS of the *Peregrinação* was 'corrected', before its publication, 'the correctors transferred to the father the period of time which really referred to the daughter.' *Loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Pinto however refers in chapters cv, cvi and cvii to 'a small book called *Aquesêdo* dealing with the greatness of Peking, which I brought to this kingdom'.

three years later. It is likely that on one of those occasions Pires met the mother of the future Inês. We do not know where he went when banished from Canton in 1524, but it would not be difficult for him to find his way to *Sampitay*, where Inês' mother 'had some property of her own'. Though Pinto does not tell us the year of Pires' death, it seems from his account that Pires had died a few years before Pinto met Inês de Leiria, perhaps not long before 1540. Pires certainly tried to communicate with Malacca but, it seems, unsuccessfully, for during twenty years or so after 1524 the Portuguese unfortunately were not allowed into China, and communications with the outside world became much more difficult; though it may not have been impossible for Pires to send some letter or other message out of China, it was by no means an easy thing.

SAMPITAY. As regards *Sampitay* it is possible to deduce from Pinto's account that it corresponds to the present town of P'ei chou or Hsin-p'ei-chou, a place near the northern limit of Kiangsu province. The frequency with which Chinese place-names change through the centuries, makes the identification of those mentioned in early accounts sometimes extremely difficult. Perplexities such as we find in Pinto's account of his journey from Nanking to Peking occur in more or less every early account. Pinto's journey, as described in chaps. LXXXVII-C of the *Peregrinação*, can be summarized as follows: With his eight Portuguese companions and thirty or forty other captives, Pinto embarked on a *lantea* (a swift rowing boat) and left Nanking early one morning. At sunset they moored at the village of *Ninhacutem*, which was the native place of the guardian or man in charge of them, the *Chifu*, as he was called, where they remained for three days. He refers to the 'impetuous current' of the river (Yangtze Kiang) the name of which was *Batampina*, meaning 'fish flower', perhaps on account of the 'infinite quantity' of fish there is in it. On the fourth day of their journey they reached *Pocasser*, a good town twice as large as Canton, where there was a great pagoda. They left the next day and arrived at another large town called *Xilingau*. Following up the river, next day they saw large fields with plenty of cattle and other stock, for the space of ten to twelve leagues, and they reached the small town of *Junquileu*.



Here they found the mausoleum of the ambassador *Trannocem Mudeliar*, uncle of the king of Malacca, who had come to China forty years ago to ask for help against the Portuguese<sup>1</sup>. The river was then narrower than at Nanking. The banks up the river are full of 'cities, towns, villages, hamlets, fortresses and castles'. Eleven days later they reached the town of *Sampitay*, where they stayed for five days. After passing many other towns and other places, and towns entirely formed by boats, they arrived in Peking on 9 Oct. 1543.

Now let us examine this part of Pinto's itinerary. He says that on the fourth day of his journey, and after stopping three days at *Ninhacutem*, he reached *Pocasser*, which seems to correspond to Chinkiang<sup>2</sup>. *Ninhacutem* must have lain not far from Chinkiang, for only one day was actually spent on the voyage from Nanking, which, thanks to the 'impetuous current', was long enough to cover the 43 miles of river separating the two cities. From there

<sup>1</sup> This town is referred to in *Comentários* (III, xxx) as *Janquileu*, and the Malay ambassador is called *Tuão Nacem Mudaliar*. The mausoleum had an inscription which the *Comentários* and Pinto give practically in the same words; but they give quite different descriptions of the monument itself, so that Pinto could hardly have taken the story from the *Comentários* (the first edition of which dates from 1557, while the *Peregrinação* was begun some twelve years later). It seems to me more likely that some of Pinto's companions, or even Pinto indirectly, had supplied the information used by the author of the *Comentários*. It is obvious that Pinto wrote something like *Tuan nacem*, which the editor of the *Peregrinação* misread as *Trannocem*, as he certainly did with many other exotic names. It is not easy to make this name—*Tuan Nacem Mudeliar*, or Tuan Hasan Mudeliar—fit into that complicated period of confused early Malayan history. Pires refers to a *Tuan Açem* or Tuan Hasan; but it seems that he was a first cousin, not an uncle, of king Mahmud of Malacca, who ordered him to be killed with others of his family in 1510. See pp. 252–4. Malacca was taken by the Portuguese in 1511, so the voyage of the ambassador to China had been made about thirty, not forty, years before.

<sup>2</sup> In chap. lxxii Pinto refers to the 'custom house of Pocasser', and in chap. ccxxii he mentions the liberation of 'five Portuguese who had been prisoners in the city of Pocasser for more than twenty years'. In both cases *Pocasser* may correspond to Chinkiang. It could hardly be a misprint. However, I cannot find any explanation for the name. Prof. Moule tells me: 'In the sixteenth century Chinkiang was not called anything like *Pocasser*. The only loop-hole is that some towns occasionally had popular names which have not been recorded in the official histories.' This may be the case here. As, according to what Pinto says, the *Chifu* was a native of *Ninhacutem*, a village near *Pocasser*, it is only natural that he may have learned that name, like other names along his course, from his native guardian.

he went to *Xilingau*, which may correspond to Yangchow<sup>1</sup>, the most important town at the beginning of the Grand Canal north of the Yangtze, 45 li (15 miles) from Chinkiang. Pinto says that one day after passing another place 5 leagues beyond *Xilingau* he saw large fields for the space of 10 to 12 leagues (32 to 38 miles) before *Junquileu*. The place 5 leagues beyond *Xilingau* must be Shaopo, the next important town, which lies 50 li, 16 miles or 5.6 leagues, from Yangchow; *Junquileu* may correspond to a small town, which Gandar calls *Wei-kiué-leou*—Wei-ch'üeh-lou in English—between Fanshui and Paoying, about 160 li, 56 miles or 17.5 leagues, from Shaopo today<sup>2</sup>. Eleven days after *Junquileu* Pinto reached *Sampitay*, the town where Pires had probably died a few years before. This town must be Hsin P'ei chou, P'i chou or P'ei chou (lat. 34° 25', long. 118° 6'), which today lies six miles north-east of the nearest point on the Grand Canal, in the neighbourhood of a small lake or morass, in a maze of canals. P'ei chou is Marco Polo's *Pingiu* or *Piju*, which he calls 'a great, rich, and noble city, with large trade and manufactures, and a great production of silk. This city stands at the entrance of the great province of Manzi, and there reside at it a great number of merchants who despatch carts from this place loaded with great quantities of goods to the different towns of Manzi'<sup>3</sup>. It is also mentioned in an Itinerary of 1276, translated and edited by A. C. Moule. Yen Kuang-ta, the author of the Itinerary, says that, travelling by boat, he 'stopped for the night outside the walls of P'i chou . . . All the officials went into the city of P'i to see the sights. The city wall and the walls of the houses were broken down, and the people were living in

<sup>1</sup> J. B. du Halde, in his description of the Grand Canal, going from north to south, says: ' . . . la ville de Yang tcheou, l'un des plus célèbres ports de l'Empire. Peu après il (the Canal) entre dans le grand fleuve Yang tse Kiang, à une journée de Nanking.' *Description de l'Empire de Chine*, III, 156.

<sup>2</sup> For these distances I follow Gandar's important work *Le Grand Canal*, pp. 66-75, which gives the complete itinerary of the Canal from Hangtcheou (Hangchow) to Peking. F. J. Mayers, however, gives an itinerary or table of distances for this part of the Canal, between Chinkiang and Chungking, the total of which amounts to 511 li. *Record of a Trip in North-East Kiangsu*, October 1920, p. 29, Shanghai 1921. Gandar's distances for the same amount to 485 li, with individual differences as large as 20 li (7 miles). One li is equal to 576 metres; one mile is equal to 2.8 li.

<sup>3</sup> II, lxiii. Yule, *Marco Polo*, II, 141. See A. C. Moule, *Hangchow to Shang-tu*.

the ruins. From this point all the towns we passed were in this condition. We spent the night on the open bank'<sup>1</sup>. It seems that either this happened after Polo's description or, more probably, that the city had recovered before he left China in 1292.

P'i chou, P'ei chou or Peichow are the names usually found in modern books and maps. But, for instance, on a 1928 map 'Compiled by Messrs. The Asiatic Petroleum Co. (N.C.), Ltd., Shanghai' it appears as Sinpichow, and in the *China Postal Atlas* published in 1919 at Peking, the Chinese characters indicating this town mean the same. In this edition of the *Postal Atlas* the correct reading of the three characters is Hsin P'ei chou; beside these there are two other characters in brackets which read P'ei hsien. *Hsien* means district. In a more recent edition of the *Postal Atlas* (Nanking 1933) the place, besides the two Chinese characters, has only the corresponding word Pih sien, in accord with the modern official Chinese nomenclature, *chou* having been changed to *hsien* by the Republic. *Hsin*, which means 'new', is often spelt *sin*, or in the case of places in the south *sun*. For example, a Cantonese would read as *sun* the same character that in the north is read as *hsin* or *sin*. Under the heading Hsia P'ei, i.e., Lower P'ei, a modern Chinese Geographical Dictionary<sup>2</sup> says that the old wall of Hsia P'ei (or old P'ei chou) still exists east of the present P'ei—three li east of P'ei chou, according to Playfair<sup>3</sup>. From the above-mentioned Itinerary of 1276 we see that the city of P'ei was then in ruins, perhaps as a consequence of the Mongol conquest or of the terrible floods that in the thirteenth century forced the Yellow

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 397.

<sup>2</sup> *Chung kuo ku chin ti ming ta tz'u tien* [General Dictionary of the ancient and modern Place-names of China], Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1931. According to this Dictionary, in the Later Han (A.D. 25-220) the Seat of the Government of the Hsia P'ei Kingdom was at the 'Old Wall of Hsia P'ei'. 'The Old Wall is east of P'ei Hsien in the modern Chiang-su' (Kiangsu). Though the chronology in such cases is not always very clear and sometimes even contradictory, we gather from the four articles referring to P'ei in the Dictionary (pp. 48 and 537) that the name and status of the city changed several times through the centuries; it seems also that it changed place more than once. None of the four articles refers to either the 'old' or the 'present' cities as *Hsin*, 'New', but at least the two modern maps mentioned above are quite explicit.

<sup>3</sup> *The Cities and Towns of China*, 2549.

River to change its course and thus flow through the region where P'ei was situated, or as a consequence of both. It is evident that in Pires' and Pinto's time a new town had long been built on the bank of the Canal, westward of the ruined one, and perhaps it was called Hsin (or Sun) P'ei, i.e., New P'ei. *T'ai* means 'terrace' and *t'i* (or *t'ai* in Cantonese) means 'embankment' or 'a dyke', 'a bank'<sup>1</sup>. I venture to suggest that in Pinto's time the place was called Hsin (or Sun) P'ei t'ai, i.e., *Sampitay*, or that at least that was the usual name among the boatmen and therefore that was what they called it in speaking to Pinto. This part of Kiangsu province, crossed by the old course of the Yellow River, has been through the centuries the scene of such terrible floods, with consequent changes in the hydrography of the region and probably in the course of the Canal<sup>2</sup>, that it is quite possible that after Pinto's time the Canal moved westward. This point of the Canal is 480 li, or 170 miles, from Wei-ch'üeh-lou or *Junquileu*, which means an average of 15.5 miles a day for the eleven days Pinto took to cover the distance, with several locks or sluices to pass through<sup>3</sup> and the water running strongly north-south.

It is not surprising that Pinto in writing *Sampitay* gives a better version of this place-name than in many other cases. Not only did he stay there longer than in any other place during his journey, but the meeting with Inês de Leiria and the story she told about Tomé Pires must have impressed him more than anything else and so was firmly fixed in his memory. It is easy to find many inaccuracies in Pinto's account, but in several points his good faith cannot be doubted. We must, however, allow for some inexactitudes, owing to the fact that he was writing from memory many years later, which made him mix up many of the very exotic oriental names, to the fact that we do not possess the MS of his book and that, no doubt, the editor of the *Peregrinação* (first published thirty-one years after Pinto's death) could not understand most of the names of places and persons

<sup>1</sup> H. A. Giles, *A Chinese-English Dictionary*, 10,577, 10,914, 10,917.

<sup>2</sup> See Gandar, *op. cit.*, pp. 29 *seqq.* On a map published in Yule's *Marco Polo* (II, 144) Peichau is placed on the east bank of the Canal and only a few miles north of the old course of the Yellow River 'from circa A.D. 1200 to 1853'.

<sup>3</sup> Gandar, *op. cit.*, p. 26. W. J. Garnett, *Report of a Journey through the Provinces of Shantung and Kiangsu*, p. 19, London 1907.

written by Pinto and probably corrupted many of them, as in the case of *Tuam Nacem* mentioned above. In the case of Tomé Pires, as in many others, the thorough study of the problem has shown how inconsistent and unfair can be the accusations showered on Fernão Mendes Pinto by his detractors<sup>1</sup>. There are still many points in the *Peregrinação* waiting to be explained, perhaps waiting in vain, as has happened in many early accounts. Even in Marco Polo's *Book*, in spite of the exhaustive studies to which it has been subjected, there are points that cannot be understood. In almost every chronicle or early account of travels, place-names that cannot be identified, erroneous and contradictory statements or dates are found, as can be seen over and over again in the course of the notes which accompany the present edition of Pires' *Suma*. However, nobody dreams of saying that Correia, Galvão, Castanheda, Barros, Couto or some other early writer lied, or wrote unblushing falsehoods or mendacities when what they say does not correspond to the proved and established truth.

Pinto's adventures and travels undoubtedly form one of the most wonderful chapters in the history of voyages, and the beautifully written book which he bequeathed to posterity is indeed a jewel in this fascinating kind of literature. The great traveller and writer certainly deserves a fairer treatment, and his memory ought to be referred to with more respect. It is indeed time to pay Fernão Mendes Pinto the reparation to which he is entitled<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> George Phillips writes: 'I have in my possession a copy of Marsden's edition of *Marco Polo*, owned by Dr. Morrison in 1826, which offers a curious illustration of this, for I find at the end of the book written in pencil the following estimate of the character of the great traveller: "With all deference to the learned Venetian, I come to the conclusion that he is an arrant liar."' *The Seaports of India and Ceylon*, p. 215. Fernão Mendes Pinto has yet to find his Sir Henry Yule.

<sup>2</sup> One of the many extraordinary adventures of Pinto, during the twenty-one years he spent in the East, was his entry in 1554 as a novice in the Society of Jesus and his abandonment of it in 1556—a serious and unpardonable offence, it seems. Cristóvão Aires, one of his biographers, writes: 'The animadversion of the Jesuits against Pinto, to the point of ordering his name to be stricken out in all their records, contributed much to the systematic discredit of the *Peregrinação*.' *Fernão Mendes Pinto e o Japão*, p. 3. Pinto wrote two letters to the Society, while in its service, one from Malacca in 1554, and

SUMMING UP. Too many queries, alas, are strewn through this attempt to reconstruct Tomé Pires' life. But, maintaining all reserves where evidence is merely circumstantial, the biography of the first European ambassador to China may be sketched as follows: Tomé Pires was born about 1468, perhaps in Lisbon,

another from Macao in 1555; the Jesuits published the first of these letters but not the second, and later the author's name was erased or altered in both of them. See the very interesting and valuable work of Jordão de Freitas, *Fernão Mendes Pinto*, pp. 57-60. Several Jesuit historians utilized the manuscript of the *Peregrinação* before its publication; the first of them was G. Pietro Maffei in his *Historia Indica* (1589), but the mention of Pinto's name was carefully avoided. In his *Historia da Igreja no Japão* the Jesuit João Rodrigues, called Tçuzzu (1561-1634), refers to Pinto only in order to label the *Peregrinação* as a 'book of counterfeits'. A. Cortesão, *Cartografia*, 1, 165-6; *A Expansão Portuguesa através do Pacífico*, pp. 170-2. The *Peregrinação* was published for the first time in Lisbon, 1614, after being corrected by the chronicler Francisco de Andrada. Francisco de Herrera Maldonado, whose translation of the *Peregrinação* into Spanish was published in Madrid, 1627, says in his introduction: 'Francisco de Andrada, Chief Chronicler of that Kingdom of Portugal, received this original script of Fernão Mendes Pinto, that he might order, correct and arrange it before being printed . . . but he left this book so imperfect that instead of correcting he damaged it further, so that the wrong arrangement he gave it was the reason for its truth breeding doubts and opinions among narrowminded men . . .' fol. lv. This may explain why the *Peregrinação*, after being corrected, does not make the slightest reference to such an important event in Pinto's life as the three years he passed in the Society of Jesus, a period during which the Governor-General of India sent him as official ambassador to Japan (1554-6). It has been said that Pinto was expelled from the Society of Jesus 'because he was a *marrano*, i.e., of Jewish blood', and this quite groundless stretch of the imagination has even found its way into the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (s.v. Pinto, Fernão Mendes). Elsewhere I have already shown that Pinto was not expelled, and proved that he was not of Jewish extraction. *Fernão Mendes Pinto não era de origem judaica*, in *Seara Nova*, No. 842, 2 Oct. 1943, Lisbon. If many Jesuits in the past, and some in the present, have attacked Pinto, exceptions can be mentioned. In 1710 Padre Francisco de Sousa, S.J., wrote in his *Oriente Conquistado*: '... Pinto well known for the book of his peregrinations, as true in the judgement of the learned as doubtful in the opinion of the vulgar' (p. 106); in 1925 the Rev. L. Besse, S.J., and the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., wrote: 'The chief witness is Fernão Mendes Pinto, whose veracity on the events of Burma between 1545 and 1552 can hardly be doubted.' *Father Manoel da Fonseca, S.J., in Ava (Burma) (1613-1652)*, p. 45. In *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. XXI, 1925. Though many early as well as modern authors have verified and proclaimed the honesty of the author of the *Peregrinação*, the anathema has been pronounced, and the slander has never disappeared. In the last edition of *Rogert's Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases*, 'Fernão Mendes Pinto' is still given as synonymous of 'deceiver, liar, story-teller, ass in lion's skin', etc.

where he may have lived in the Porta da Madalena, near the north-east corner of the present Praça do Comércio. His father was the apothecary of King John II, and Tomé Pires himself was the apothecary of Prince Afonso. On 20 Apr. 1511, perhaps then a widower, Pires embarked in Lisbon for India, where he arrived on 7 Sept. or a few days later. In Lisbon he had been appointed 'factor of the drugs' in India, but after eight or nine months in Cannanore and Cochin, Afonso de Albuquerque despatched him to Malacca to make an inquiry about some irregularities, and also as controller of the drugs, scrivener, and accountant of the factory. Pires sailed from Cochin in April or May and arrived in Malacca in June or July 1512. From March to July 1513 he went to Java as factor of a fleet. He left Malacca about the end of January 1515 and arrived in Cochin at the end of February. The greatest part of the *Suma Oriental* was written in Malacca but finished in India. Pires intended to return to Portugal, but the new Governor-General, Lopo Soares de Albergaria, his old personal friend, chose him, on the advice of other Portuguese captains and noblemen in India, to go as ambassador to China. He sailed from Cochin about the end of February 1516, called at Pase and went to Malacca whence he sailed to China on 12 August. Adverse weather caused the fleet which accompanied Pires to return to Malacca; he sailed again from Malacca in June 1517 and arrived at *Tamão* on 15 August, and at Canton near the end of September, disembarking about a month later. After more exasperating delays Pires and his suite left Canton on 23 Jan. 1520, arrived at Nanking in May, and before February 1521 he was in Peking, having travelled by the Grand Canal. After a very bad reception by the court officials he left Peking on 22 May, without seeing the Emperor, and arrived back in Canton on 22 Sept. 1521. Pires and his companions were immediately imprisoned, and on 14 Aug. 1522 he was put in fetters. By the end of 1523 or beginning of 1524 he was banished from Canton and went to *Sampitay*, a town on the banks of the Grand Canal, where two years before, when travelling between Nanking and Peking, he had met a Chinese woman of some wealth by whom he had a daughter called Inês de Leiria. Pires must have died in *Sampitay* not very long before 1540, when he

was about seventy years old. *Sampitay* corresponds to the present small town of Hsin-P'ei-chou, Sinpichou or Pihsien, near the northern limit of Kiangsu province.

Tomé Pires can hardly have imagined what the future had in store for him when he agreed to lead the ill-fated embassy to China. When he was on the point of returning to Portugal, happy and rich, what seemed to be a golden opportunity came to him of rising in social status and enormously increasing his wealth in knowledge and money. But he lost all he had, and after terrible sufferings, anxieties, humiliations and miseries, he died unknown, forgotten and hopeless in some town of far-distant China. After reading the *Suma Oriental* and knowing how it was written, in the spare time of a very busy life, we can be sure that, from the time he left Cochin in 1516 until his death some twenty odd years later in China, Pires continued to write. We know, through Correia, as mentioned above, that before 1524 Pires sent the Governor of India 'a book in which he gave an account of the riches and greatness of China'. But no trace of this precious book exists today, no more than of the book dealing with 'weights and measures in all the different places' of the East which Pires himself announces in the *Suma*. The *Suma Oriental* and the letter of 27 Jan. 1516 'about the drugs and where they grow' may give us some sort of idea of what Pires must have written about that China which he knew so thoroughly and intimately. A small reference in Cristóvão Vieira's letter gives some idea of the pains taken by Pires in his study of China—"Tomé Pires said that Nanking lies in 28 or 29 degrees, Peking in 38 or 39 degrees<sup>1</sup>. The correct latitude of Peking is 39° 54' and the latitude of Nanking is 32° 5'. Nanking is obviously Vieira's mistake; perhaps he meant Nan-chang (lat. 28° 30' N), through which Pires probably passed on his journey between Canton and Nanking.

It was a great loss to the history of science and of geography that Pires' writings on China disappeared, both those which he sent before 1524 as well as those he never managed to smuggle out of China.

<sup>1</sup> Voretzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 62. Pires' name, which appears in the Lisbon fragments of Vieira's original letter, has been omitted in the Paris copy (fol. 112v.)



## THE 'SUMA ORIENTAL' OF TOMÉ PIRES

THE LISBON MANUSCRIPT. Besides the Paris MS there is another in the Biblioteca Nacional of Lisbon, without name of author and containing a portion only of the *Suma Oriental*. This forms part of a codex, MS 299, which begins with a *Chronica geral dos reinos de Guzerate*, fols. 1-41v., and is completed with the *Soma horientall que trata do mar Roxo ate os chims*, fols. 41v.-98v. Fols. 42-47 are missing. According to the index in the codex, it formerly contained also a *Chronica troiana*, which is now in MS 298.

The whole codex is in the same clear hand of about the middle of the first half of the sixteenth century. The beginning is identical with fol. 118v. of the Paris MS, but the text from 'nascimento do njllo' until about the third quarter of fol. 121 r. is lacking, as it occurred on the six missing folios; then follows the description of Arabia, Ormuz, Persia, *Noutaques*, *Risbutos*, Cambay, Kanara, Narsinga, Malabar, Bengal, Arakan, Pegu, Siam, Cambodia, Champa, Cochin-China, and China<sup>1</sup>. All the rest—Ceylon, Choromandel, Indian Archipelago, Lequios, Japan and the history of Malacca are not dealt with at all. Not only the headings and order of the chapters or items are different in the two MSS, but also the text differs in many points and is much more reduced in the Lisbon MS, mainly in the descriptions of Siam and China. A few variations between the two texts have been pointed out in the notes to the English version, when necessary, but many more exist.

The Lisbon MS must be a copy of some now lost original, which was not that from which the Paris MS was copied. Though the reductions in the text as far as Bengal might be explained as a mere desire to simplify on the part of the copyist or whoever ordered the copy to be made, the same simple explanation could not be applied to the very reduced text after the description of Bengal. On the other hand, the Lisbon MS, at

<sup>1</sup> The folios in the Lisbon and Paris MSS correspond as follows: 41v. = 118v.; 48r. to 59v. = 121r. to 125r.; 59v. to 63v. = 130r. to 131v.; 64 = 130r.; 65r. to 70r. = 132r. to 134r.; 70r. to 84v. = 125v. to 129v.; 84v. to 98r. = 134r. to 139v.; 98r. to 98v. = 161r. to 162v.

Anrigo l xxxvij  
 q fala do. Reino da china

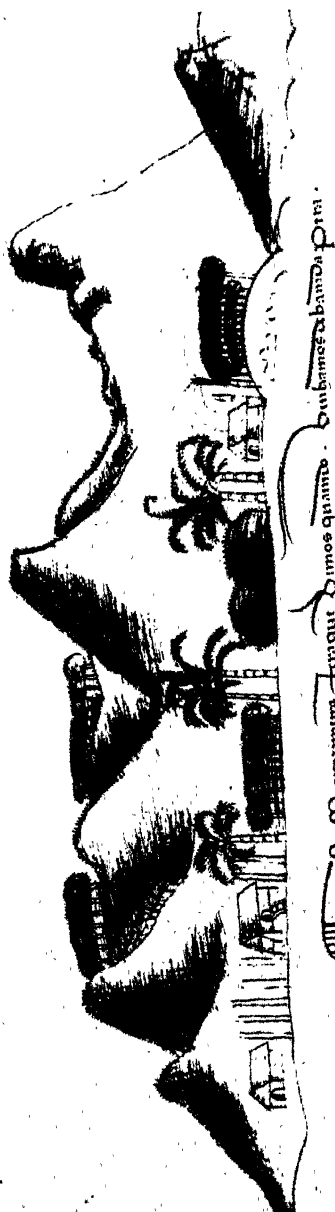
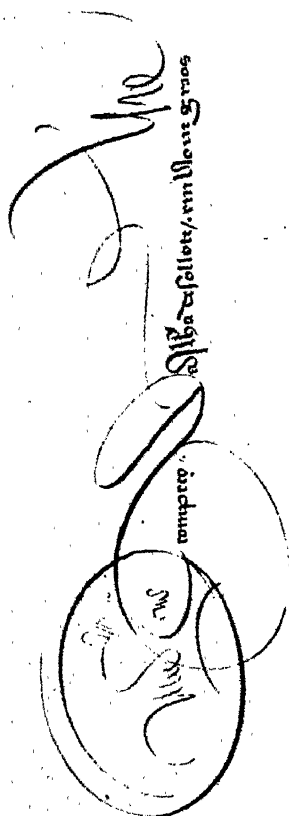
Segundo que as gentes de adestapar-  
 volente a todas cousas da china com  
 as grandes a 69 na 11ta como em gem  
 tes e riquezas e estas e cousas outras  
 que mais se veyam e cidade de gem  
 e na europa que nao nesta 11ta da chi  
 na he la he 11ta e de e tem fremeos  
 e a 69 e mulas em grã de numero ho

-ouro e prata

Reino da China  
 Royallme de China

Segundo que as gentes de adestapar-  
 volente a todas cousas da china com  
 as grandes a 69 na 11ta como em gem  
 tes e riquezas e estas e cousas outras  
 que mais se veyam e cidade de gem  
 e na europa que nao nesta 11ta da chi  
 na he la he 11ta e de e tem fremeos  
 e a 69 e mulas em grã de numero ho

The first lines referring to China in Tomé Pires' *Suma Oriental*. Above—Lisbon MS;  
 below—Paris MS (pp. lxiv-lxx)



Rodrigues' panoramic drawing (fol. 43) of Alor (pp. 202, 526)

least in the passage referring to Malik 'Aiyaz, adds some information to that given in the Paris MS<sup>1</sup>; the date 1522 shows that it was added much after the actual writing of the original and not by Pires himself. Not only are there words and passages which are wrong in the Paris MS and correct in the Lisbon MS, but vice versa, words like *agenb* and *çamarcante* in the former appear wrongly written in the latter. It is possible that the Lisbon MS is the copy of some preliminary report sent by Pires not long after his arrival in Malacca. He must have received instructions, before he left Lisbon, to send reports similar to the *Suma Oriental*, mainly of an economic character though with a historic background. Pires may be referring to this preliminary report, or some other written shortly after it, when in the letter from Malacca 7 Nov. 1512 he says to his brother: 'To the King our Lord I write extensively about the things of Malacca', and then adds that this is sent together with other letters to 'Senhor Jorge de Vasconcelos', the director of the Casa da Mina e India, an early Ministry for the Colonies. Through his stay in Malacca Pires was able to gather much more information about the Far East, the Indian Archipelago, and Malacca itself with the neighbouring countries, which he may later on have included in the *Suma Oriental*. On the other hand there is no doubt that the *Suma Oriental* was officially kept secret, and it is quite possible that only the part of it referring to matters already in the public domain was allowed by the Portuguese authorities to be transcribed and to leave the carefully closed State Archives; the Lisbon MS may be a copy of that transcription.

RAMUSIO'S TRANSLATION. In his *Primo Volume delle Navigazioni et Viaggi*, printed in Venice 1550 for the first time, Ramusio publishes, after the *Libro di Odoardo Barbosa*, the *Sommario di tutti li regni, citta, & populi orientali, con li traffichi & mercantie, che iui si trovano, cominciando dal mar Rosso fino alli populi della China. Tradotto dalla lingua Portoghese nella Italiana*. The translation was made from an original similar to the Lisbon MS<sup>2</sup>, and

<sup>1</sup> See note p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> As the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* says, the original of this *Summary of all the Kingdoms, Cities, and Nations from the Red Sea to China* has never been printed or noted elsewhere. Article: *Ramusio, Gian Battista*.

it has the part corresponding to the six folios missing in the latter. The translation of this part shows many differences from the Paris MS; for instance the whole section from the reference to the lack of rain in Egypt to the description of Mecca, in fol. 119v. of the Paris MS, is missing in Ramusio. But there are also differences between the Lisbon MS and Ramusio's translation; besides many minor ones, there is a large omission in the description of the Persian Gulf. After five lines under the heading *Del golfo Persico*, Ramusio follows with the Nodhakis (*Naitaques*), whom he calls *Motages*, leaving out all that is contained in fols. 54r.-57r. of the Lisbon MS about the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, and about the Sophy. When referring to Malik 'Aiyaz, Ramusio's translation has the same reference to the year 1522 as in the Lisbon MS. This shows that the copy he used was not made from Pires' original but from a copy similar to the Lisbon MS.

Ramusio did not know who was the author of the account he translated. In the 'Discurso di M. Gio. Battista Ramusio sopra il Libro di Odoardo Barbosa, & sopra il Sommario delle Indie Orientale' which precedes the translation of both, he says: 'In the same way the summary, according to what I have been able to gather, that too was composed by a Portuguese gentleman, who sailed over all the East, and having read Barbosa's *Book*, wished to describe almost the same things in his own way and according to the information which he had received, and specially about that part where are the Moluccas, which have to the north a long coast of mainland, which some Portuguese pilots think, from information received about it in Malacca, runs towards the east; and according to what I have been told, he tried to describe it more in detail than was possible for him, that being one of the most singular and notable parts which is described on the globe, and completely inhabited and full of cities and white people, endowed with good intellect and courteous, and there being there, besides that one, many islands well populated and abounding in all things necessary for human sustenance. Nevertheless when he returned home, if he wanted his book to be seen, he was forced to take away all that part which towards the end deals with the Moluccas and the spices.

And I at that time having ordered with great trouble and difficulty the book to be transcribed in Lisbon itself, I was only able to get one copy, and that imperfect; and I did the same for Barbosa's *Book* in Seville. So much can the interests of the Prince effect. I could well have wished that as I did not fail to take every care to obtain these books, a happier fortune would have brought them into my hands more complete and more correct, and I would much more gladly and quickly have printed and published them; not for any other end or purpose than to please students who take pleasure in such reading. . . .<sup>1</sup>

Though he wrongly assumed that the author of the *Sommario* had read Barbosa's *Book*, which actually was written a couple of years later, Ramusio's report is very interesting. We see that he had got information about the *Suma Oriental*, complete as we know it through the Paris MS, but he was unable to obtain a full copy in spite of all his strenuous efforts. Whoever supplied him with his incomplete copy had to tell him that the author had been forced to leave out all the matter concerning the Moluccas and the spices—a specious story to cover his inability to do better. What was most important and interesting for Ramusio had been left out, i.e., just the information about the precious spices, the Moluccas and the other islands of the Indian Archipelago, of which nothing more was known than vague references in early writers, the fanciful description of Varthema, who never went beyond India, the very incomplete and second-hand account of Barbosa, and the exciting but brief description of Pigafetta, dealing almost entirely with the relatively small part he saw. It is easy to understand Ramusio's obvious disappointment. In accordance with the policy of secrecy in the matter of discoveries, followed by the Portuguese Crown since the first half of the fifteenth century, the important information about the Spice Islands and the East Indies could not be given forth. Though Spain had officially desisted from her pretensions to the Moluccas by the Treaty of Saragossa (22 April 1529), the

<sup>1</sup> This translation follows the 1613 edition (I, 287v.). The words 'almost' (*quasi*) and 'and the spices' (*e delle spetierie*), and the sentence 'So much can the interests of the Prince effect' (*Tanto possono gl'interessi del principe*), are not in the 1550 edition (I, 310v.).

Spaniards never gave up, and their spies never ceased trying to obtain all the information they could until 1580, when that unfortunate period of Portuguese history began, during which Portugal was under Spanish domination for sixty years<sup>1</sup>. Thus the part of Pires' *Suma* that was allowed to leak out, or that some foreign agent was able to obtain—that in the Lisbon MS and in Ramusio's translation—contained nothing more than unimportant open secrets. The *Sommario* which reached Ramusio had been shorn of everything that might be deemed State secrets. 'Tanto possono gl'interessi del principe', as the famous Venetian sadly says.

THE PARIS MANUSCRIPT. We have seen already that the sixty-two folios containing the *Suma Oriental* form the second part of the codex in which the *Book* of Francisco Rodrigues occupies the first part. The handwriting is so similar to that of Pires' letters, extant in Lisbon, that one is led at first to believe that the present copy of the *Suma* is in the author's own hand<sup>2</sup>. However, a careful examination shows definitely that it is not in Pires' hand. Apart from paleographic reasons, there are many indications in the manuscript indicating that it is a mere copy, and that it could not have been written by Pires himself. In the description of Persia the transcriber of the Paris MS (fol. 122v.) wrote *Ydamca* instead of India, which appears correctly in the Lisbon MS, and consequently in Ramusio's translation (see note p. 21). When referring to the merchants of Persia the Paris MS (fol. 124r.) has *cauo* for Cairo, which is correct in the Lisbon MS and in Ramusio (note p. 29). At the beginning of the description of the 'Kingdom of Cambay' there is a word missing in the Paris MS (fol. 125r.), but in the Lisbon MS and in Ramusio the sentence is complete (note p. 33). A little further

<sup>1</sup> See my essay *O Descobrimento da Australásia e a 'Questão das Molucas'*, pp. 148 *seqq.* I have even reason to believe that the Portuguese had discovered Australia in 1522, and that the secret was jealously kept, as I have shown in another essay—*A Expansão Portuguesa através do Pacífico*, pp. 155-9.

<sup>2</sup> The late Commander Fontoura da Costa, to whom I had sent photostats of the *Suma Oriental* so that he might collate the handwriting with that of Pires' letters in the Tôrre do Tombo, wrote me saying that he had consulted several experts, and the first impression was that the handwriting of the *Suma* 'seems really that of T. Pires'. But later investigations have left no doubt in my mind that it is not from Pires' hand.

on, the Paris MS has, wrongly, *Dalmās*, which is correctly given as *gemte darmas* in the Lisbon MS and so in Ramusio (note p. 34). In the description of the 'Kingdom of Narsinga' the Paris MS (fol. 126r.) has *que*, which the Lisbon MS correctly gives as *porque*, and so too does Ramusio; the same with *arte* in the one, and *corte* in the others (notes p. 64). When referring to the 'Nayars of Malabar', the Paris MS (fol. 127v.) wrongly has *pequeno Douro*, while the Lisbon MS has correctly *pedaço douro* (note p. 71). When describing the 'Kingdom of Kranganur' the copyist of the Paris MS (fol. 128v.) left out the words *cõ a vimda dos portugueses he*, which are in the Lisbon MS (note p. 79). At the beginning of the 'Kingdom of Comorin' the Paris MS (fol. 129r.) left out the words *O Reino de Comorim cõfina*, which are in the Lisbon MS and likewise in Ramusio; under the same heading it seems that the copyist of the Paris MS missed a whole line—*assy como nos chamamos a duques marquezes comdes & outros* (notes p. 82). In the description of the 'Kingdom of Cochín-China' the Paris MS (fol. 138v.) has *q̃oat<sup>o</sup> funcos*, which is a mistake for *q̃oarent<sup>a</sup>*, as it appears in the Lisbon MS and similarly in Ramusio (note p. 114). These and other divergences of the same kind, some of them mentioned in the notes, point to the same conclusion, i.e., that the Paris MS is a copy and could not possibly come from Pires' hand.

It is possible that the copy mentioned by Barbosa Machado was the original. Unfortunately he does not say where it was, but he might have seen it in the precious royal library of the Paço da Ribeira, or in the still more precious archives of the Casa da Índia, which was on the ground floor of the same building, both destroyed by the fire that broke out when Lisbon was devastated by the great earthquake of 1755. Barbosa Machado published vol. III of his *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, where he refers to Pires, in 1752. We do not know where the present copy of the *Suma Oriental* was made, or how it came to be bound together with the *Book* of Francisco Rodrigues. However, when Rodrigues returned from the first voyage to the Moluccas, in 1512, Pires was already in Malacca. They might have had tastes in common, and perhaps became friends. They might have met in India before Pires left for China, and it is quite possible that



Rodrigues obtained a copy of the *Suma Oriental*; perhaps he had a copy especially made for him. But even if they did not meet in India, they certainly met in Canton. Rodrigues was one of the captains of the fleet of Simão de Andrade which arrived at *Tamão* in August 1519, and Pires did not leave for Peking till January 1520. It is likely that Pires sent the original of the *Suma Oriental* to Lisbon before he left Cochin for China, but he certainly kept a second copy or the original draft with him. When the two men met again, Pires probably showed Rodrigues the *Suma Oriental*, which he might have seen before in India or in Malacca, while it was still being written, or Pires may even have handed it to Rodrigues, in view of the difficulties and uncertainties he was anticipating. And if Rodrigues had not a copy already, either one was made while Pires was still in Canton or not much later. The fact that Rodrigues' *Book* is from his own hand and the present copy of the *Suma Oriental* is written on the same kind of paper, strongly suggests that it was made under Rodrigues' order and was first in his possession.

Pires introduces confusion into the division of his work. After saying in the 'Third Prologue' that the *Suma* will be divided up on the lines of the five principal rivers—Nile, Tigris, Euphrates, Indus, and Ganges—he goes on to assert that the five books in which it will be divided will treat: the first from Arabia to Cambay, the second to Bhatkal, the third to Bengal, the fourth to China, and the fifth will be all the islands. These two divisions cannot, of course, be fitted into each other. Then follows, under the heading 'Division of the present *Suma*', a new division which does not fit either of the previous ones. It is also in five books: first—the beginning of Asia, from Africa to the First India; second—to the end of Middle India; third—High India till Ayuthia; fourth—China, Liu Kiu, Japan, Borneo, *Luções*, and Macassars; fifth—all the islands in detail, i.e., the Indian Archipelago. It seems that Pires followed approximately this order, but the copyist of the Paris MS, after beginning the description of the 'Kingdom of Cambay' (fol. 125r.), follows with 'Kingdoms in the land of Kanara' (fol. 125v.), which belongs to bk. II and must come after the 'Kingdom of Goa'; the rest of the description of Cambay (fols. 130r.—131v.) comes after the description of

the Malabar. This may be the transcriber's fault, as he wrote at the head of fol. 125v.—'Here you will leave this and look for Cambay which follows after,' and also at the head of fol. 130r.—'It is before the kingdoms in the land of Kanara.' It seems less probable that the mistake originated with Pires himself; besides, in the Lisbon MS and in Ramusio's translation the text follows in the proper order. Under the heading 'Pattars of Cambay' (fol. 131r.) we read: 'You shall find what manner of men they are back in the description of Malabar.' But the Lisbon MS (fol. 62r.) says: 'como adiamte direy no malabar' (as I will say further on in the Malabar). This variance in the Paris MS may be due to the transcriber's substituting *atras* (back) for *adiamte* (further on) in order to adjust the word to the arrangement of his copy. The same hand that wrote 'Osorio' on fol. 5r., also wrote at the bottom of fol. 131v.: 'Here ends the first book; and the second, about the Kanarese and Bhatkal, begins further back.' To complicate things still further, when the Paris MS was assembled, fols. 161r.—163v. (pp. 89–94 of a previous numeration, perhaps when the codex was in Osório's possession), containing the rest of bk. iv, which begins on fol. 139r. with the 'Kingdom of China', were placed after the end of bk. v and the 'Account of the island of Ceylon', which ends on fol. 160v.

It happens also that after he finished bk. v with the 'Account of all the islands', Pires wrote about Ceylon (fol. 160), which he does not mention in any of the divisions of the *Suma*. At the beginning of the 'Account of Ceylon' he explains, however: 'As I followed the coast of the mainland, I had no mind to deal with the island of Ceylon, and afterwards I almost forgot about it; and it did not seem right to fail to speak of it even in a place inserted out of the proper order; but the scarcity of paper made me do this, and so as not to put in a leaf and break the original order.' This shows that he tried to keep to his original plan, and thus the confused disposition of the text in the Paris MS could hardly be his fault. In view of this the 'Account of Ceylon' is placed at the end of bk. II, in the present version, after the 'Kingdom of Comorin', the southernmost of Malabar and India. The last fifteen folios of the Paris MS (164r.—178v.) contain the lengthy historical, geographical and economic description of

Malacca, which could hardly be fitted into the scheme drawn up by Pires, even in bk. III, though after Pegu and before Siam he inserted a note, far from clear, which might suggest that Malacca was dealt with elsewhere. So this is, appropriately enough, given as bk. VI in the present version. The order of the whole text has been accordingly adjusted in the English version, but the Portuguese text is printed exactly in the order of the Paris MS; as stated above, the numeration of the folios, which is kept in the original and in the version, will help readers to find the corresponding portions in the two languages.

Summing up, the present version of the *Suma Oriental* is geographically divided, in general lines, as follows:

Preface ;

Bk. I—From Egypt to Cambay, with the Red Sea, Arabia, Ormuz and Persia;

Bk. II—From Cambay to Ceylon, with the Deccan, Goa, Kanara, Narsinga and Malabar;

Bk. III—From Bengal to Indo-China, with Burma and Siam;

Bk. IV—China to Borneo, with Liu Kiu, Japan and Philippines;

Bk. V—Indian Archipelago;

Bk. VI—Malacca.

WHERE AND WHEN THE *SUMA ORIENTAL* WAS WRITTEN. Though the greater part of the *Suma Oriental* was written in Malacca, it is probable that it was begun and finished in India. During the two years and seven months he lived in Malacca, Pires was extremely busy with his official duties, as he himself says at the end of the Preface: 'most of my time was taken up with my duties in connexion with Your Highness' revenue, and the time I devoted to the present work was my leisure.' It is improbable that he was so busy when in India, before embarking for Malacca, and during the twelve months between his return to India and departure for China. During the seven months after his arrival in India he must have collected much information and begun to write the *Suma*; and that he finished it in India is

clear from the end of the Preface. There are other passages leading to the same conclusion. In the description of Malacca Pires refers several times to what will be said in the description of China, Sumatra, Java, Bengal, etc., which shows that he wrote it before most of what he says about Malacca; but referring to the 'Ports of Siam' (fol. 137r.) he writes: 'as we have already said in the kingdom and district of Malacca.' Then, when dealing with the weights and measures of Malacca (fol. 176r.), he says: 'Now I will tell how it (Malacca) was taken, and what happened up to the time of my departure for Cochin.' This shows that later, probably when in Cochin, he added to what he had already written in Malacca. Though part of what he wrote on China, Bengal and the Indian Archipelago may have been written in India, he certainly wrote most of it when still in Malacca. For instance, when describing the 'Land of Surabaya' (fol. 154r.) Pires says: 'He (*Pate Bubat*) has already written to this fortress (of Malacca), and they have written him twice.'

The way Afonso de Albuquerque is mentioned in the Preface—which must have been one of the last things written—shows that Pires had finished the *Suma* before the death of the great Governor (16 Dec. 1515). We can conclude that the greater part of the *Suma Oriental* was written in Malacca, and the rest in Cochin, during the years 1512–15.

THE VALUE OF TOMÉ PIRES' WORK. The *Suma Oriental* was a report sent to King Manuel, perhaps in discharge of a commission taken by Tomé Pires before he left Lisbon. His style is far from clear, and no doubt it often becomes more confused owing to the transcriber's mistakes, which sometimes produced words without any meaning, mainly when dealing with local names or expressions. Some passages, as for instance at the end of the description of Java, are almost impossible to translate, for their meaning can hardly be guessed. Similar mistakes, committed by careless or unscrupulous transcribers, appear in other contemporary manuscripts which are known only through second-hand copies, as in the cases of the *Book* of Duarte Barbosa and the *Livro de Marinharia*. But the translation of Barbosa's famous work is a less complicated task, for besides Ramusio's translation, made from a copy seen by Barbosa him-

self in Seville, there exists a Portuguese copy of the manuscript printed in 1821, and made more understandable through punctuation and revision.

The character of the *Suma Oriental*, devoted mostly to economics, does not afford many opportunities for literary brilliance. But, in spite of the general poverty of style, Pires shows a culture well above what might have been expected from a man of his class, and there are occasional flashes from his pen. This is especially noticeable in the Preface, where he tried his best, although remarking modestly: 'I am a Lusitanian and a man of the people, whose custom it is to belittle their glories and to make too much of the bad things; and the work of composing treatises or summaries is more for foreigners than for natives, because they know how to adorn their compositions'. But then he adds: 'For instance, we see them tell wonders of the Mediterranean Sea, which is a fifteen days' voyage, always within sight of land; so what would they do if they saw the famous eastern conquest of all the ocean, in the course of which there were things as deserving of remembrance and honour among men as they were accounted worthy before God.' There are other passages in the *Suma* where Pires rises above dry description: when, for example, he refers to 'cool Ormuz . . . with all the elegance of beautiful white women' (fol. 122r.); or when he remarks of the burning alive of widows in Blambangan that 'thus they lose their bodies in this life and their souls burn in the next' (fol. 154v.). Nor is he lacking in a sense of humour, as when he ends an interesting reference to the importance of Malacca with the hint that there 'you find what you want, and sometimes more than you are looking for'. He never ceases to praise Malacca, 'end of monsoons and beginning of others'; 'no trading port as large as Malacca is known, nor any where they deal in such fine and highly prized merchandise. Goods from all over the East are found here; goods from all over the West are sold here' (fol. 160r.). Under the heading 'Reason for the greatness of Malacca', together with his enthusiasm he discloses, perhaps better than anywhere else, his vision, spirited criticism and common sense, ending with these picturesque and revealing sentences: 'And true it is that this part of the world is rich and

more prized than the world of the Indies, because the smallest merchandise here is gold, which is least prized, and in Malacca they consider it as merchandise. Whoever is lord of Malacca has his hand on the throat of Venice. . . . Who understands this will favour Malacca; let it not be forgotten, for in Malacca they prize garlic and onions more than musk, benzoin, and other precious things' (fol. 178r.). Though he says that 'a captain is sufficient to rule and govern, with governors according to the nations of the merchants', he could not help adding, about the many nationalities of the merchants living there, that 'a Solomon was needed to govern Malacca, and it deserves one'.

The prevailing note throughout the whole *Suma* is that of honesty, which, no doubt, greatly enhances its value. Just as Duarte Pacheco had said before him, 'experience, which is the mother of knowledge, removes all doubt and misapprehension'<sup>1</sup>, so too Pires says in the Preface: 'We here have been through everything, and experienced it and seen it.' He does not fail to emphasize his endeavours to find the truth: 'The great island of Java [i.e. his account of it] is finished; as well as I have been able to examine and investigate it, verifying my facts with many people; and whatever they seemed to me to agree about thoroughly, that have I written down, and they certainly do not depart from the truth' (fol. 154v.). In the description of the 'Islands of Timor where the white sandalwood comes from', Pires asserts once more: 'and I asked and enquired very diligently whether they had this merchandise anywhere else, and everyone said not' (fol. 155v.). When he could not verify by himself, he often says that he writes 'according to the information I obtained'. Referring to the Amboina and Banda islands and the navigation about them, he is careful enough to state: 'If in what I say of these islands, together with Banda, I disagree with the pilots, it is not my fault, because in this I am relying on people who have been there; I have learnt this from Moors, from their charts, which I have seen many times, and if their charts are not to be trusted, let it be clear that this should be for reading

<sup>1</sup> *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis*, G. H. T. Kimble's Hakluyt Society edition, p. 12. Pacheco's famous book was written in 1505-8 and published for the first time in Lisbon 1892.

and not for navigation' (fol. 156v.). After mentioning the imaginary 'breath-snakes', he adds: 'I have never met a man who has seen one' (fol. 128r.). About the story of the kings of Cambay being 'brought up on poison', he remarks: 'But I do not believe this, although they say it is so' (fol. 130v.). About the women of Nias island who 'are made pregnant by the wind', he comments: 'The people believe in this, as others believe in the Amazons and the Sybil of Rome' (fol. 146r.). Of the Papuan 'men with big ears who cover themselves with them', he says: 'I never saw anyone who saw anyone else who had seen them. This story should be given no more importance than it deserves' (fol. 159r.).

The first two books of the *Suma Oriental* have only a limited interest, though they bring a valuable contribution to the study of the countries covered by them; but the other four books describe the until then almost unknown world beyond India, by one who lived for two and a half years in the centre of the Far Eastern countries, and visited some of them. Leaving aside the accounts of medieval European travellers, Pires' *Suma* contains the first trustworthy information on the countries and islands lying from Bengal to Japan. The information given about the lands visited by himself is, of course, more valuable and vivid than that which he obtained second-hand; but even the latter is exceptionally interesting for the time, owing to the place where he collected it and his official position, which brought him in direct touch with the cosmopolitan world of oriental travellers, ship's captains, pilots and merchants who frequented Malacca, to say nothing of the reports of many Portuguese. No need to emphasize the especial value of the great wealth of first-hand historical, geographical, ethnographical and commercial information about each and all of the countries and peoples with whom he dealt—it will be easily gathered from the text of the *Suma* and, in many cases, from the accompanying notes. As an instance, among many other important items, three may be mentioned: we find here, for the first time, the name Japan, which appears under the form *Jampon*; Pires' description of Sumatra was not surpassed in detail and accuracy for a couple of centuries; the information about Java, derived from his visit to its north coast, is the most remarkable; the historical account of

Malacca is not only the earliest known, but contains much information not found elsewhere.

The Portuguese discoveries, from the first quarter of the fifteenth century to the first quarter of the sixteenth, and the invention of printing about 1450, were the two main factors in that cosmopolitan enlightenment of the Renaissance, the foundation of Western Civilization. The period of the discoveries coincides with the golden century of Portuguese history. The adventurous spirit of the Portuguese people led them to the science of navigation, which enabled their ships to unveil the mysteries of the great oceans and search out far distant lands, many of them quite unknown to the world, or of which there were only vague references in Europe. With the navigators went the warriors, the missionaries, the merchants, and the men of science and investigators, like Duarte Pacheco, D. João de Castro, Garcia da Orta, Duarte Barbosa, Tomé Pires and many others. Their writings are imperishable monuments<sup>1</sup>. The now happily rediscovered *Suma Oriental*, the value of which was probably surpassed by the later, now unfortunately lost, accounts Pires no doubt wrote in China, is enough to win for him an important place among those Portuguese who, extending and developing their world discoveries, made a great contribution to human knowledge and progress<sup>2</sup>. Above all, Tomé Pires was the

<sup>1</sup> The Hakluyt Society alone has published some twenty-five volumes with early Portuguese books of voyages and other geographical records, and many more dealing in part with Portuguese discoveries and voyages.

<sup>2</sup> Marsden wrote more than two and a half centuries after Pires: 'The Portuguese being better warriors than philosophers, and more eager to conquer nations than to explore their manners and antiquities, it is not surprising that they should have been unable to furnish the world with any particular and just description of a country [Sumatra] which they must have regarded with an evil eye.' *The History of Sumatra*, Preface. Marsden did not know, of course, of Pires' *Suma*, neither did he know the *Livro de Duarte Barbosa*; he hardly even mentions the description made by Pinto of his visits to Sumatra in 1539 (*Peregrinação*, xiii-xxxii). Marsden makes, however, this curious and honest remark, hesitating between the bad reputation of Pinto and his accuracy and proved reliability: 'Many transactions of the reign of this prince (about the years 1539 and 1541) are mentioned by Ferdinand Mendez Pinto; but his writings are too apocryphal to allow of the facts being recorded upon his authority. Yet there is the strongest internal evidence of his having been more intimately acquainted with the countries of which we are now speaking, the character of the inhabitants, and the political trans-



earliest sixteenth-century European to write a large, conscientious and reliable description of the East as a result of his personal observation. As with so many of his countrymen, and many from other countries, he paid a high price for the privilege of serving his fatherland and humanity.

#### THE PILOT AND CARTOGRAPHER FRANCISCO RODRIGUES

So little is known about Francisco Rodrigues that it is impossible even to attempt a biographical sketch. Besides the information we can gather from Rodrigues' *Book* itself, he is mentioned in two letters of Afonso de Albuquerque to King Manuel, written from Cochin, 1 April and 20 August 1512; in the *Comentários*, III, xxxvii; by Castanheda, III, lxxv; by Barros, II, vi, 7, and III, vi, 1; by Góis, IV, xxv. But all these simply mention Rodrigues in connexion with some event in which he took part, saying nothing about his origin and the rest of his life.

The first known reference to Rodrigues appears in Albuquerque's letter of 1 April 1512, in which he writes of a 'piece of map' he is sending to the King. It was taken from 'a large map of a Javanese pilot, containing the Cape of Good Hope, Portugal and the land of Brazil, the Red Sea and the Sea of Persia, the Clove Islands, the navigation of the Chinese and the *Gores*, with their rhumbs and direct routes followed by the ships, and the hinterland, and how the kingdoms border on each other. It seems to me, Sir, that this was the best thing I have ever seen, and Your Highness will be very pleased to see it; it had the names in Javanese writing, but I had with me a Javanese who could read and write. I send this piece to Your Highness, which Francisco Rodrigues traced from the other, in which Your Highness can truly see where the Chinese and *Gores* come from, and the course your ships must take to the Clove Islands, and where the gold mines lie, and the islands of Java and Banda, of

actions of the period, than any of his contemporaries; and it appears highly probable, that what he has related is substantially true: but there is also reason to believe that he composed his work from recollection, after his return to Europe, and he may not have been scrupulous in supplying from a fertile imagination the unavoidable failures of a memory, however richly stored.' *Ibid.*, 428-9.

nutmeg and maces, and the land of the king of Siam, and also the end of the navigation of the Chinese, the direction it takes, and how they do not navigate farther. The main map was lost in *Frol de la Mar*. With the pilot and Pero de Alpoim I discussed the meaning of this map, in order that they could explain it to Your Highness; you can take this piece of map as a very accurate and ascertained thing, because it is the real navigation, whence they come and whither they return. The archipelago of the islands called *Celates*, which lie between Java and Malacca, is missing<sup>1</sup>. In the other letter, of 20 Aug. 1512, Albuquerque informs the King that he had sent a fleet to the Moluccas, under the command of António de Abreu, one of the pilots of which was 'Francisco Rodrigues, a young man who has been here, with very good knowledge and able to make maps'. The *Comentários* also mentions this voyage, as pilot of Abreu's fleet, of 'Francisco Rodrigues, a young man who has always been in India as a pilot, and he knew very well how to make a map if necessary, and this is why he (Albuquerque) sent him there'.

Part of the maps and all the sketches contained in his *Book* were drawn during, or as a result of, his voyage to Banda. Rodrigues must have drawn many maps, but unfortunately none has reached us, apart from those in the Paris codex, as far as is known.

THE VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY TO THE SPICE ISLANDS. After seizing Malacca in the middle of August 1511, and before sailing back to India in December of the same year, Afonso de Albuquerque sent ships with ambassadors to Pegu and Siam, and a fleet of three vessels to discover the Spice Islands. The fleet was commanded by António de Abreu, in the ship *Santa Catarina*, with Luís Botim as pilot; the second in command was Francisco Serrão, in the ship *Sabaia*, with Gonçalo de Oliveira as pilot; the third vessel, a caravel, was commanded by Simão Afonso Bisagudo, with Francisco Rodrigues as pilot. In this armada went 120 Portuguese, 60 slaves 'to work the pumps' and two native pilots<sup>2</sup>. Though the chroniclers mention Rodrigues in the

<sup>1</sup> I have dealt at length with this map, and about Rodrigues as a cartographer in my *Cartografia*, II, 122-30.

<sup>2</sup> Albuquerque himself, the *Comentários*, and Correia (II, 265) mention two native pilots, but Barros (III, v, 6), says that 'besides the Portuguese pilots, Abreu took some Malay and Javanese who were used to that navigation'.

third place among the pilots, and Correia says that Gonçalo de Oliveira was the pilot-major of the fleet<sup>1</sup>, Rodrigues styles himself on the cover of his *Book*, 'Pilot-major of the armada that discovered Banda and the Moluccas.' As the *Sabaia*, on which Gonçalo de Oliveira was pilot, was shipwrecked shortly after passing Java, and the junk in which Serrão was returning, probably with Oliveira as pilot, was also shipwrecked shortly after leaving Banda, it is possible that Oliveira—who after all seems to have been either inefficient or unlucky—did not come back with Abreu, and that Rodrigues was, in fact, the pilot-major in the voyage from Banda to Malacca.

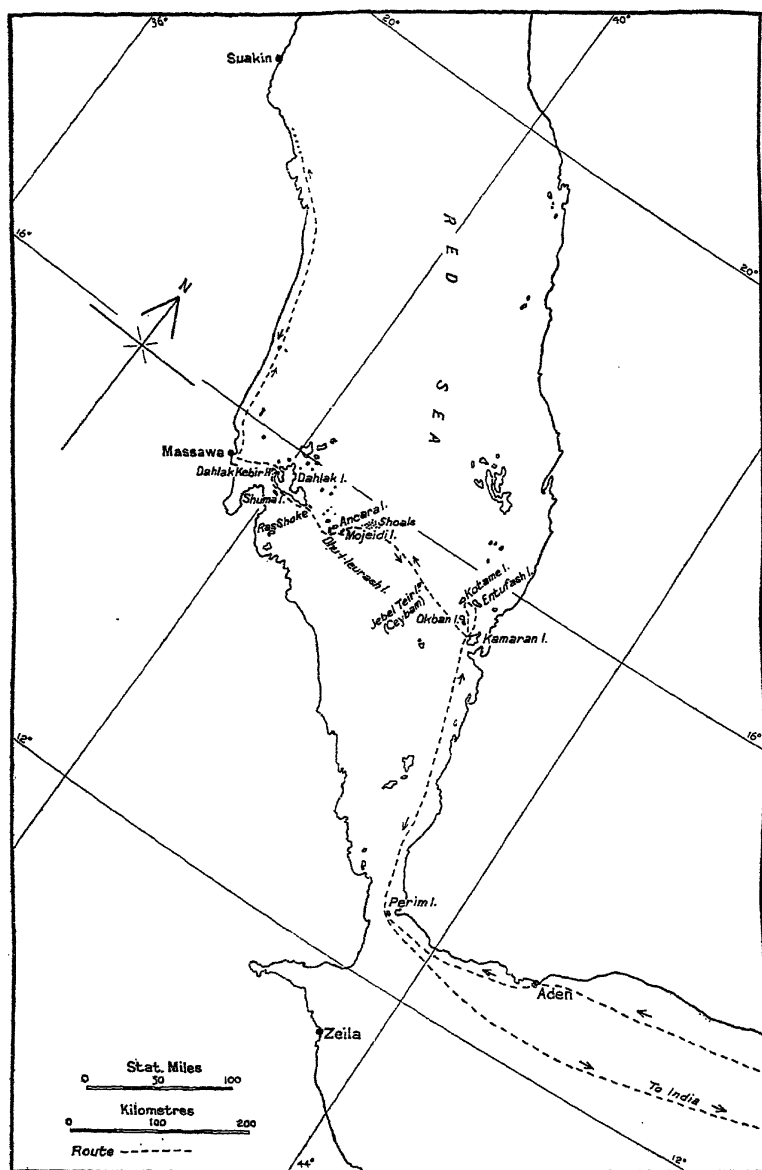
The small fleet sailed from Malacca perhaps in November 1511<sup>2</sup>. All the chroniclers refer, with more or less detail, to this voyage, but only Galvão and Barros, mainly the former, give information which enables us to trace the itinerary of the fleet. Barros says that from Malacca Abreu went to Grisee (*Agacim*), Amboina, Banda, and back to Malacca. But Galvão writes: 'At the end of this year 1511, Afonso de Albuquerque sent three ships to the islands of Banda and the Moluccas (*Maluco*). And there went António de Abreu as their captain-major, and one Francisco Serrão; there were 120 persons in the ships—no more vessels nor men went to discover New Spain with Christopher Columbus, nor with Vasco da Gama to India, because the Moluccas are no less wealthy than these, nor ought they to be held in less esteem. They went through the strait of *Sabam* along the island of Sumatra and in sight of many others—leaving them on the left hand towards the east—which are called Selayat (*Salites*), past the islands of Palembang (*Palimbão*) and Lucipara (*Lusuparam*); from there they sailed by the noble island of

<sup>1</sup> When Albuquerque refers to the three Portuguese pilots, he mentions Gonçalo de Oliveira first and Rodrigues last, though the latter is the only one he distinguishes with the special reference of being 'a young man of very good knowledge and able to make maps'.

<sup>2</sup> Albuquerque says that Abreu's fleet 'sailed in the month of November, two and a half months before I left' (letter of 20 Aug. 1512). Though Correia asserts that Albuquerque left Malacca for India on 1 Dec. 1511 (II, 268), Galvão and Castanheda (III, lxxv) say that he left in January. The *Comentários* and Correia confirm that Abreu sailed in November; Castanheda says at the end of December; Fernão Peres de Andrade and Jorge Botelho (*Cartas*, IV, 151 and 156), say December.



PLATE VII



Francisco Rodrigues' Voyage of Discovery in the Red Sea in 1513  
(pp. lxxxiv-lxxxvi, 291-5)

Java, and they set their course east, sailing between it and the island of Madura (*Madeira*).<sup>1</sup> Then Galvão describes the people of Java and continues: 'Beyond the island of Java they sail along another called Bali (*Balle*), and another close to it called Lombok (*Anjano*), Sumbawa (*Simbaba*), Flores and Solor (*Solor*), Adunare and Kawula (*o Galao*), Malua or Alor (*Mauluoa*), Wettar (*Vitara*), Rozengain (*Rosolanguim*) and Aru (*Arus*)—whence are brought the dried birds which are much valued for plumes—and others lying in the same parallel on the south side in seven or eight degrees of latitude, and so near to each other that it seems like a single land. The course along these islands must be above five hundred leagues; the cosmographers called them the *Jaoas*, though now they have different names as you see here. They say that beyond these islands there are others inhabited by white people . . .' After this digression Galvão returns to Abreu's voyage from Madura onwards: 'António de Abreu and those that went with him set their course toward the north of a small island called Gunong Api (*Gumuapè*), because from its highest point streams of fire run continuously to the sea, which is a wonderful thing to behold. From there they went to the islands of Buru (*Burro*) and Amboina (*Damboino*), coasted along that [island] called Ceram (*Muar Damboino*), and anchored in a haven called Guli Guli . . . where they burnt the ship in which Francisco Serrão was, for she was already old, and they went to Banda, which is in eight degrees on the south side, where they loaded cloves, nutmeg and mace in a junk that Francisco Serrão bought there . . . In the year 1512 they sailed from Banda towards Malacca, and in the shoals of Lucipara and Turtle Islands (*Lusopino*) Francisco Serrão was shipwrecked with his junk; from there he went back as far as the island of Mindanao (?) (*Midanao*) with nine or ten Portuguese who were with him, and the king of the Moluccas sent for them. These were the first Portuguese (*Espanhoes*) that came to the Clove Islands, which lie from the equinoctial towards the north one degree, where they stayed seven or eight years. António de Abreu made his way to Malacca, having discovered all the sea and land [above] named<sup>1</sup>.'

<sup>1</sup> *Tratado*, ff. 35-6.

Besides the data supplied by Barros and Galvão, some information can be gathered from other documents, mainly some of the maps and drawings of Rodrigues himself. On the map on fol. 36 we find the inscription *pude homde sse perdeo a ssabaia* (*Pude*, where the *Sabaia* was lost) corresponding to Sapudi island which lies near the easternmost point of Madura. Two of the drawings (fols. 94 and 95) show Sapudi island with the inscription *aqui se perdeo a sabaia* // & *esta flha se chama pude* (here the *Sabaia* was lost, and this island is called *Pude*) at the south-eastern point of the island, which is recognizable by the small island Raas (*flha de Raz*) complete with the three islets near its eastern point<sup>1</sup>. Diogo Brandão says, in the evidence he gave in the 'Process of the Moluccas', that after the loss of Serrão's ship, the other ship and the caravel went 'near Banda but could not reach it on account of adverse weather, and they had to winter in a haven 25 leagues from Banda, called Gule Gule (*Gullygully*); and, the weather becoming favourable, three months later they went to Banda'<sup>2</sup>. Rui de Brito Patalim states in the same 'Process of the Moluccas' that, after Serrão's ship was lost, 'the two [remaining] vessels went to Banda because the weather was not favourable for going to the Moluccas<sup>3</sup>.' Some other information, though indirect, may be gathered from a rutter from Malacca to Java and Banda, dating from the first half of the sixteenth century, contained in *Livro de Marinharia*. It says that when a ship arrives off Cape Flores she must sail towards Batu Tara or Komba, a small island twenty-five miles to the north of Lomblen, then go north-eastwards, and after passing Lucipara (*Gilimão*) she must follow the course north-north-east which will take her to Buru, from where she will sail south-eastwards and reach Banda (p. 267). Pires himself wrote: 'From it (Batu Tara) the route is straight ahead for Banda and Amboina; . . . the other islands along by Solor are not much good for trade because they are out of reach' (fol. 155v.). No doubt this was the route followed by Abreu, and so Rodrigues recorded

<sup>1</sup> These statements of Rodrigues cannot be contradicted, because he was there, and what he says is confirmed by the evidence of Diogo Brandão, of Jorge de Albuquerque and of Andrade, although, besides Galvão's information, Barros says that Serrão's ship was lost between Amboina and Banda.

<sup>2</sup> *Cartas*, IV, 170.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 167.

it on his map (fol. 37). This map—which covers the Flores Sea, the Banda Sea and the Moluccas—has only thirteen names and inscriptions, seven of which refer to the said route: Cape Flores—Batu Tara—Buru—Amboina—Ceram—Gule Gule—Banda.

With these elements the itinerary of Abreu's expedition from Malacca to Banda can be traced as follows: passing through the channel between Kundur island and Sumatra, and through Banka strait, they reached Grisee, in north-east Java, where they landed for the first time; sailing eastwards Serrão's ship was lost at the south-eastern point of Sapudi island; they sighted Batu Tara and then Gunong Api, landed at Buru and Amboina, sailed along the south coast of Ceram, anchored at Gule Gule, where the two remaining vessels were delayed by bad weather, and finally sailed to Banda<sup>1</sup>.

A junk was bought there for Serrão, and the three ships, after loading, set out on the return voyage. Shortly after they left Banda they ran into a storm and Serrão's junk parted from the

<sup>1</sup> In his essay *L'œuvre géographique des Reinel et la découverte des Moluques*, Hamy dealt with António de Abreu's voyage, analysing Rodrigues' map and Galvão's description. According to Hamy, instead of sailing directly to Batu Tara and Gunong Api, and then going north, straight to Buru—as he really did—after Java, Abreu would have carried on along the chain of islands, which lie to the east, as far as Aru (530 miles east of the meridian Gunong Api—Buru), from where he would have returned west, discovered Banda, gone to Buru (more than 200 miles west-north-west), returned again eastwards, going to Gule Gule, and from there returned directly to Malacca. This strange interpretation is due mainly to a mistranslation of a word in Galvão's description. After describing the people of Java, Galvão writes: 'Beyond the island of Java they sail (or go=*vam* or "*vão*") along another called Bali', etc., meaning the people of Java (*a gente desta ylha*), whom he refers to in the previous sentence, not Abreu and his companions. When Galvão refers to the latter (*Antonio Dabreu & os que com elle hiam*), he always uses the past tense 'they went' (*foram*), 'they took their course' (*tomaram sua derrota*), and so forth. The same mistake was committed by Hakluyt, when he translated *vam* into 'they sailed', a mistake which Bethune overlooked in his Hakluyt Society's edition of Galvão's *Tratado* (p. 116). Hamy had to adapt all his interpretation to the mistranslation of the word *vam*, which led him to other mistakes (see note p. 204, and my article *O Itinerário de António de Abreu*, in *Seara Nova*, No. 796, 14 Nov. 1942, Lisbon).

Abreu arrived at Malacca in December 1512 and left with F. P. Andrade for India in January 1513 (Castanheda, III, cii), and then sailed for Portugal. He died in the Azores before reaching the mother country, according to the evidence of Sequeira in the 'Process of the Moluccas', and Barros, III, v, 6.



other vessels and was shipwrecked on the Lucipara islets and shoals. Eventually Serrão and nine Portuguese who were with him reached the Moluccas, where he continued living till his death, which occurred probably at the beginning of 1521. Abreu's ship and the caravel proceeded on their course until they sighted an island which Rodrigues represents in the first of his panoramic drawings, with an inscription saying that 'This was the first land we sighted when we came from Banda to Malacca'. Though another inscription on the same drawing says that it is the 'Beginning of the island of Solor', it must correspond to Alor island (see note on Solor, p. 202). They followed westwards along the north coast of the chain of islands, Rodrigues' panoramic views being drawn as seen from the sea. The last seventeen of the sixty-eight drawings correspond to Java, and the last of them, which must have been drawn off Cape Krawang, north-east of modern Batavia, has an inscription saying: 'And as far as this we discovered the island of Java.' Then they sailed north-westwards and reached Malacca in December 1512, one year after they had started on their voyage. Of the 120 Portuguese who had left for the discovery of the Spice Islands, only 80 returned to Malacca; 10 remained there and 30 died during the voyage. See plate VI.

THE EXPEDITION TO THE RED SEA. The next news of Francisco Rodrigues is given by himself in his *Book*, when he describes the 'Voyage that I made with João Gomes, captain of the caravel, to Dahlak' (fol. 5r.). This voyage took place in June-July 1513, when a Portuguese fleet under the command of Afonso de Albuquerque entered the Red Sea for the first time. We do not know exactly what happened to Rodrigues when he returned to Malacca in December 1512, but he did not stay there long, and he probably sailed to India with Fernão Peres de Andrade and António de Abreu in January 1513. By that time Albuquerque was in Goa assembling the fleet of twenty sail in which he went with 1700 Portuguese and about a thousand natives<sup>1</sup> to the Red Sea. In his letter of 4 Dec. 1513, written

<sup>1</sup> All chroniclers agree that there were 1700 Portuguese, but they differ regarding the number of Malabars and Kanarese; they also agree as to the number of sail, except Correia, who says 24, and Castanheda 19.

from Cannanore to King Manuel, describing at great length the expedition to the Red Sea, Albuquerque does not give the date he set sail from Goa, and the chroniclers are at great variance. Correia says Jan. 28, the *Comentários* Feb. 8, Barros and Góis Feb. 18, Castanheda only says 'March 1513'. The fact that in Dec. 1512 Rodrigues was in Malacca, which he left perhaps at the beginning of Jan. 1513, and that he reached Goa in time to sail with Albuquerque's fleet, shows that the date indicated by Barros and Góis, or even that given by Castanheda more vaguely, must be nearer the truth.

The armada set sail to Cape Guardafui, went to Sokotra, and then proceeded to Aden. After an unsuccessful attempt to seize the town (March 27), Albuquerque sailed towards the Red Sea, which he entered in April. His idea was to go to Suez and destroy the fleet which, according to intelligence he had gathered, the Sultan of Egypt was mustering in order to attack the Portuguese in India; but the monsoon was already nearing its end. The fleet passed beyond the island of Kamaran till it reached the islands Okban, Kotame and Entufash, where it lay at anchor for several days, waiting for favourable winds which would allow it to proceed; but as the winds did not blow, and drinking water was lacking, Albuquerque returned to Kamaran at the beginning of June. It was then that he decided to send João Gomes' caravel, mentioned by Rodrigues, to explore as far as Dahlak and Massawa. Albuquerque in his letter of 4 Dec. to King Manuel reported as follows: 'Returning to Kamaran for the second time, and having decided to make ready to sail in August, I determined to send the caravel out to sea to try to get a *jelba*<sup>1</sup>, in order to obtain some news of the land, for throughout the whole year the strait is navigated by these small rowing or sailing *jelbas*. I ordered her to try to reach the island of Dahlak (*Dalaca*) and Massuwa (*Meçud*), and I gave her a pilot from the same land. And with this I did not mean more than to send João Gomes in the caravel to spend some days discovering land throughout this strait wherever he could. He managed so well that he reached the island of Dahlak and some islands near it, where there are pearl fisheries; he could not get a [*jelba*], because they are light

<sup>1</sup> A small native boat used on the shores of the Red Sea.

and swift craft, which led him through those shoals and sand-banks in such a way that he did not follow the true navigation route. He arrived at Dahlak and moored off some shoals in the harbour. The caravel's skiff went ashore; the people did not care to ask who they were, for throughout the whole strait our entry had been known for some days and the place warned, in such a manner that I certify Your Highness that no more boats or *almadias*<sup>1</sup> came out, nor did birds light on the sea, so stupefied was the Red Sea with our arrival, and so deserted. They only asked them what they wanted. João Gomes told them that I had ordered him to go there, and if they wanted merchandise he would sell it. They answered that there were no merchants in the land, only fighting men. And so they took leave of them, and went around the island and explored it thoroughly. As he had no certain instructions from me, he did not draw near to the main land of Prester John, called Harkiko (*Arquico*), which could be seen as clearly as Ribatejo from Lisbon. Massawa lies farther, in a bay along the coast, one day's voyage<sup>2</sup>. After he had seen everything and discovered all those islands around there, he returned by the main deep-sea route, through which the merchant ships sail. And he did no more than I have said, because he had no other directions or instructions from me, but to discover the way, with the idea of our going there, should some wind arise that would enable us to sail; for if I had entirely mistrusted the weather, I should have provided better in this case, and men I had ready with instructions and letters to send to Prester John. These men they would have set on the main land in charge of his captains, who would have taken them [with them]. I believe he would have done all this, trustworthy man that he is. And he brought me Dahlak painted (on a map), and the islands and sea, the best he could. I am sending this map to Your Highness'.<sup>3</sup> Barros also says that João Gomes brought 'the

<sup>1</sup> A small native boat.

<sup>2</sup> This part of Albuquerque's letter does not agree entirely with Rodrigues when he says 'we ran along the coast of Abyssinia for nine or ten days without seeing . . . any manner of port nor a place where we could disembark' (fol. 6v.). In fact the island of Massawa lies four or five miles north-north-east of Harkiko.

<sup>3</sup> *Cartas*, I, 220-1.

islands mapped as they lay, without anything else'<sup>1</sup>. The pilot of Gomes' caravel was one Domingos Fernandes<sup>2</sup>, so Rodrigues was probably sent by Albuquerque with the special task of surveying that part of the Red Sea. Though from the reference of Albuquerque and Barros, mainly the former, it might seem that Gomes himself had made the map sent to King Manuel, we may now safely assume that Rodrigues was its author<sup>3</sup>. It is, however, somewhat strange that Rodrigues does not mention such a map, or that it was not included in his *Book*. See plate VII.

By the end of August Albuquerque was back in India.

After the expedition to the Red Sea, no more is known of Rodrigues until 1519, when he went to China with Simão Peres de Andrade, as we have seen before. Barros says that Andrade's ship was joined in Malacca by three junks, one of which was commanded by Rodrigues, but Góis mentions three ships (*naos*) instead of junks. The squadron arrived in the Canton River in August 1519. In the biographical note on Tomé Pires I have already dealt at length with this disastrous expedition of Andrade. There Rodrigues again met Pires, whom he had known at least in Malacca, when in December 1512 he returned from the expedition to the Spice Islands.

This is all that is known about Francisco Rodrigues. Viscount de Santarém says that he was a pilot born in the Azores, who in 1553 was serving with the English when Thomas Windham (called Tomas de Gidom, or Gidne, in contemporary Portuguese documents) attacked Madeira<sup>4</sup>. The name is a common one, and elsewhere it has been shown to be highly improbable that the two pilots are one and the same person<sup>5</sup>. Many other name-

<sup>1</sup> *Decada* II, viii, 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Comentários*, IV, ix.

<sup>3</sup> João Gomes, who, as Barros (II, vii, 5) says, was 'nicknamed *Cheira-dinheiro*' (Scent-money), is frequently mentioned by the chroniclers but never as a mapmaker. He was killed in 1519 in the Maldives, where he had gone with an expedition to build a fortress in the island of *Mafacalou* (possibly a contraction of Male and Farukalu), and by the depredations and robberies he practised there he certainly justified the nickname. Góis, IV, xxxii; Correia, II, 568-70.

<sup>4</sup> *Quadro Diplomático*, II, pp. lxxv seqq.; J. Blake, *Europeans in West Africa, 1450-1560*, p. 321.

<sup>5</sup> Viterbo, *Trabalhos Nauticos dos Portuguezes*, II, 252-5; A. Cortesão, *Cartografia*, II, 129-30.

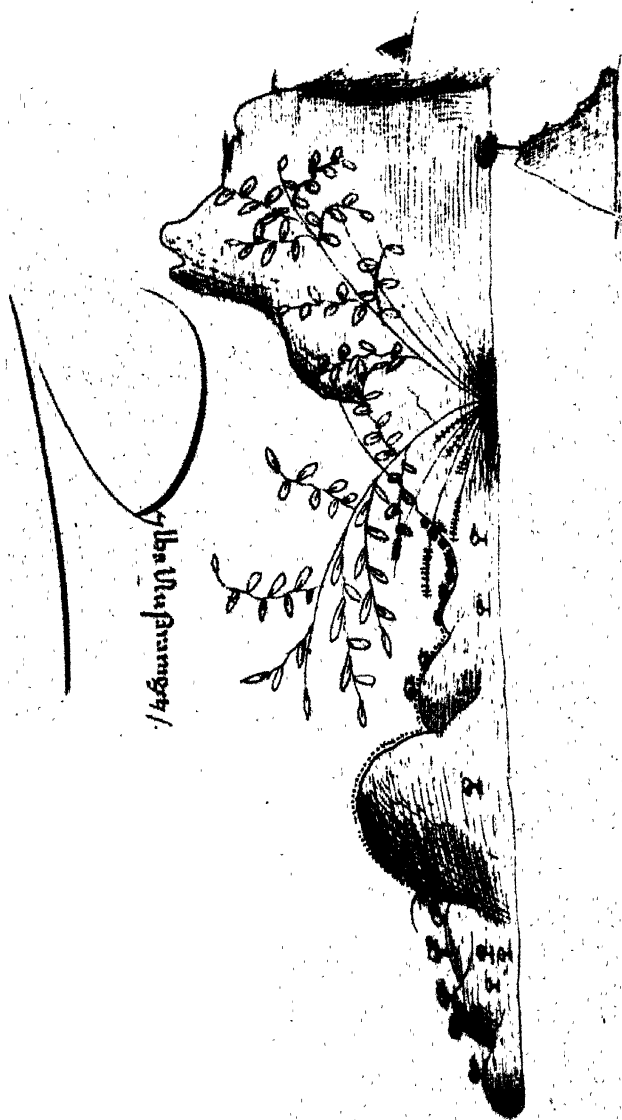
sakes of Francisco Rodrigues appear in the chronicles and documents referring to the first half of the sixteenth century, but they have nothing in common with the pilot, cartographer and captain, who left his valuable *Book* to posterity.

#### THE BOOK OF FRANCISCO RODRIGUES

The *Book* of Francisco Rodrigues occupies the first part of the Paris codex. The original numeration was cut away in binding, and the present numeration, added probably when the codex was bound, begins on the second fly-leaf and goes up to 116. The numbers given in the original table of contents do not correspond with the present numeration, which causes much confusion. For instance, fols. 12 and 14 in the original table of contents correspond with present fols. 9 and 10, and fols. 20 and 22 with 14 and 15, which might indicate that what Rodrigues calls folios (*folhas*) were actually pages and that some folios are missing. But, besides the anomaly of some even numbers corresponding with rectos of folios, it happens that fol. 17 of the original table corresponds with 11 of the present numeration, 22 with 15, 26 to 34 with 18 to 26, and 36 to 38 with 27 to 29. The next 87 folios are not included in the table of contents. Fols. 2v., 3v., 4v., 7v., 8r., 9v., 14v., 15v. and 16v., the versos of fols. 17 to 36, 38 to 85, and 87 to 112, 113r., and the versos of fols. 114 to 116, of the present numeration, are blank. All the writing, in text, maps and drawings, seems to be in Rodrigues' hand. The highly ornamented word *Emmanuel*, at the head of the first page, shows that Rodrigues dedicated his *Book* to King Manuel. See plate XXVIII.

The somewhat mixed contents of Rodrigues' *Book* can be grouped under four distinct headings: nautical rules, rutters, maps, and panoramic drawings. After these have been described it will be possible to study the problem of the date of the *Book's* composition.

NAUTICAL RULES. Fols. 7v.-16r. and 86 contain nautical rules (*Regimentos*). The first rules, signed twice *Framcisquo Rooiz* or *Roiz*, are for ascertaining the latitude at noon, the position of the observer to the Sun in relation to the equator being known; these



Rodrigues' panoramic drawing (fol. 58) of Sukur Island or Rusa Linguette, seen from the south. It agrees in every detail with a modern description (pp. xci-xcii)

Gilbert



Rodrigues' panoramic drawing (fol. 54) of part of an island, perhaps Adunare (p. 526)

rules are illustrated by a curious figure, in colours, for the graphic determination of the Sun's declination (plate XXXI). They are followed by a table of the Sun's declination for a leap year only. Next comes a 'Canon of leagues', much used by the Portuguese, for ascertaining the distance sailed along any point of the compass, for each degree of latitude, reckoned at  $17\frac{1}{2}$  leagues in one case and at  $16\frac{2}{3}$  in the other. The first case is illustrated with a figure in colours showing a compass rose for measuring a degree in leagues (plate XXXIII). Finally, Rodrigues gives a *regimento* for ascertaining the Sun's declination, with some confused examples, and goes on to discuss the matter in a 'Chapter to explain how you should navigate by shadows'.

These nautical rules must be copied from manuscript *regimentos* which, after the end of the fifteenth century, passed from hand to hand among the Portuguese pilots. Some of these rules or instructions are found in the famous so-called *Regimento de Munich*, the earliest known edition of which dates from 1509 (?) though it must have been printed before, perhaps in 1495 (?). Such is the case with the first figure for determining the Sun's declination and the table of the Sun's declination for a leap year. The whole matter is duly dealt with, at some length, in the notes to the text<sup>1</sup>.

RUTTERS. The description of Rodrigues' voyage of exploration and survey to Dahlak, which carried him on in sight of the coast of Abyssinia, is the first rutter in the *Book*. This voyage has been dealt with above and in the notes to the text. The other rutter, rather schematic, is called 'Route to China', i.e., sailing from Malacca to the Canton River, and is discussed in a note to the text (pp. 302-3). They will be referred to again later in this Introduction.

MAPS. There are twenty-six maps or charts in the *Book*, each occupying the recto of one folio. There are also four folios intended for maps which were never drawn; one has only a

<sup>1</sup> These notes were sketched in 1937 by the late Commander Prof. A. Fontoura da Costa, an authority on early Portuguese navigation. They were to some extent developed by Commander D. Gernez, of the French Navy, now in London. The former had undertaken to write a more detailed study of Rodrigues' nautical rules, intended to form a special section of this Introduction, but unfortunately he died 7 Dec. 1940 (b. 9 Dec. 1869).



system of wind roses, two have a central wind rose and a scale of leagues, and the other shows a scale of leagues only.

The Viscount de Santarém had facsimiles made of the twenty-six maps and reproduced them in his *Atlas* of 1849<sup>1</sup>. These facsimiles, especially when in colours, are beautifully done, but of those of the maps with scales of latitudes and of leagues, only no. 4, corresponding to fol. 18, is complete; the others lack the scale of latitudes (except no. 16, corresponding to fol. 30, which has part of it), and some also the scale of leagues. This omission of non-essential parts of the maps was made, obviously, in order to save space. But there were slips too on the part of the copyist; for example, the wind rose on no. 7, corresponding to fol. 21, is incomplete, and on no. 20, corresponding to fol. 37, the word *ambom* (Amboina) is missing. The order of the reproductions in Santarém's *Atlas*, numbered 1 to 26, corresponds with the following order of the MS folios: 116, 115, 114, 18 to 35, 37, 36, 38 to 42. In *Estudos de Cartographia Antiga* (II, 148-56) we find a description of the maps by Santarém, sometimes very detailed, but with too many inaccuracies<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Though this *Atlas* is dated 1849, it comprises the maps published in the two previous editions, of 1841 and 1842, plus the maps engraved, or distributed, between 1845 and 1855. I have written elsewhere, at length, on the Viscount de Santarém and his monumental work. *Cartografia*, II, 365-404. Besides the note (the precise date of which we do not know) published in *Estudos de Cartografia Antiga*, the first reference made by Santarém to Rodrigues' Book and its maps is found in a letter he addressed from Paris, 12 Oct. 1850, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Lisbon, which financed the publication of the *Atlases*, stating that he 'had just discovered the portolano of the Portuguese pilot Francisco Rodrigues, of 1529'. In another letter of 15 Feb. 1851 he reported on the state of his work. On Nov. 1851 he wrote that four of the maps had already been engraved, and on 28 Jan. 1853 he reported the engraving of the other twenty-two maps of Rodrigues. These documents were published in 1909 by Jordão de Freitas, *o 2º Visconde de Santarém e os seus Atlas Geographicos*, pp. 114-23. On 5 June 1854 Santarém sent to the Ministry a list of fifty-seven copies of the *Atlas* he had presented before 9 April 1851 (new sheets were sent, or were supposed to be sent, loose later, as they were being engraved) to several learned institutions and personalities in various countries.

<sup>2</sup> For example, the map (fol. 22), with the outline of the Brazilian coast, is given as 'West coast of South Africa'. Many mistakes, like this particular one, are probably due to the difficulty of interpreting Santarém's writing; but others were undoubtedly made by him. Two instances: When describing the sketch with the Gulf of Tong-King (fol. 38), he writes—'On the wind rhumb is written the word *Varia*, which seems to indicate the compass

The maps, following the order in which they occur in the *Book*, can be divided in five groups: (a) The first nine maps, from Europe to East Africa, are drawn on the approximate scale 1 : 13,000,000 and are more or less copied from existing Portuguese prototypes; (b) the three from North-east Africa to Malacca are drawn on the same scale and contain a quantity of new information; (c) the six from Sumatra to the Moluccas are drawn on various scales from 1 : 4,500,000 to nearly 1 : 8,000,000 and are entirely new; (d) the five maps from Malacca to north China, which are entirely new, though simple sketches; (e) the three maps with the Mediterranean and Black Sea are drawn on the approximate scale 1 : 6,000,000 and follow existing prototypes. All the maps but the last three have the word *norte*, in small writing, near the end of the rhumb line from the central wind rose which points northwards. These maps, which are reproduced from photographs for the first time in the present work, are described in *Appendix II*.

PANORAMIC DRAWINGS. These occupy the rectos of 69 folios—43 to 85 and 87 to 112. Only the first drawing is in colours; the last twenty-four drawings show only the outline of beaches and mountains, but the first forty-five show also plants, native houses and the natives themselves.

All these drawings were made when Rodrigues was returning from Banda to Malacca, as he saw the land from the sea, sailing along the north coast of the chain of islands from Alor to western Java. The outlines of mountains and sea coasts are continuous through almost all the drawings, as if separate drawings were cut from a general one; this forms a remarkably accurate view of these islands as seen from the sea. Most of the mountains, bays, and villages shown can easily be identified if we compare the drawings with, for instance, the *Eastern Archipelago Pilot*, vol. II. For example, the *Pilot* says: 'Sukur island or Rusa Lin-variation in these regions.' '*Varia*' is simply a misreading of the word *norte*, which is written on twenty-three of the twenty-six maps, indicating the north. On the description of the sketch with the Canton River (fol. 40) Santarém wrote: 'At the head we read, in Chinese characters, the name of a city, and next—Cidade da China.' The 'Chinese characters' are simply a flourished letter *A*. But these were only notes, published posthumously, without any editing, and rather carelessly; Santarém was too careful and scrupulous to publish them without previous checking.

guette has a conspicuous summit, 865 feet (263<sup>m</sup>7) high, on its north-eastern side, probably the remains of an old crater; the western side of this peak descends very steeply to a fresh-water lake. . . . In the south-western part the island is low and flat. The entire island is wooded, but uninhabited. There is a sandy beach along the west coast, and the east coast is rocky; the north and south coasts are alternately sandy and rocky. A rock, with a single tree on it, lies on the coastal reef extending about two cables from the south-east point of the island.' This description corresponds exactly with the drawing of the *Jlha Nusaramgeti* (fol. 58), even to the 'rock with a single tree on it'. See plate VIII.

The note of realism given to many of the first forty-five drawings, with the representation of volcanoes in activity, houses, plants and natives, is sometimes particularly vivid, as in fol. 60. This no doubt represents the village of Mausambi, in Flores, which appears in the drawing just east of Raja Island, and shows a native palace or temple surrounded by a palisade of stakes, houses, plants and several natives, one of them climbing a coconut palm, the other on top of a hill shooting with a bow at a strange bird (perhaps a *nore*, a variety of parrot which Rodrigues saw in Amboina, Ceram or Banda) perched on a lofty mountain (probably Olo Muku, 3006 ft.) only the summit of which is visible. The drawings are described in *Appendix II*.

One of the curious features of these drawings is the rather artistically drawn plants which decorate many of them. It appears that Rodrigues wanted to give some idea of the local flora, but if that is the case he made a very imperfect attempt, and his drawings are of little use for identifying the plants. The coconut palm (*Cocos nucifera* Linn.) is the only species which can be identified with certainty; it appears in several of the drawings, near the shore. A grass which figures on nearly all the drawings is probably *Imperata cylindrica* Beauv., a species with silvery spikes which is common in the Malayan islands and would probably attract the attention of any one sketching the flora. This grass comes up in large quantities wherever the ground is cleared, and soon becomes a pest. It is known to the Malays as *alang-alang*. The grass-drawings are not all uniform, but it seems that this species must be intended. Another species

whose identity is almost certain is *Gynandropsis gynandra* Briq., a widespread tropical weed; this appears in drawing fol. 63. A plant with broad heart-shaped leaves, which appears in some of the drawings, looks like *Alocasia macrorrhiza* Schott, an Aroid much cultivated in Malaya. Apart from the above it is not possible to make any suggestion with confidence<sup>1</sup>.

THE DATE OF RODRIGUES' BOOK. Rodrigues' *Book*, composed of several distinct parts, was written and drawn over a period of years. When the Viscount de Santarém reproduced Rodrigues' maps in the *Atlas* of 1849 and described them in the note in *Estudos de Cartografia Antiga*, he said that they were drawn between 1524 and 1530; but he did not give the reason for his assertion. The first nine maps, of the western European, Brazilian and African coasts, and the last three, of the Mediterranean and Black seas, are copied from prototypes now more or less known and their interest is limited; but the fourteen maps from Suez to China, mainly those of the Far East, which are entirely new, are of exceptional importance and their dating has particular interest for the history of the cartography of those regions; they therefore deserve special attention. The dating of these maps of the East Indies has been studied by C. H. Coote, E. T. Hamy, G. Collingridge, J. Denucé and E. C. Abendanon. After discussing the problem in my *Cartografia*, I came to the conclusion 'that it cannot be said, as some of the above authors have done, that the date of the *Atlas* (i.e., Rodrigues' maps of the Eastern Archipelago) is 1511-13 or  $\pm 1512$ , because it was made a little after 1512, though it does not seem an easy task to determine its precise date—unless some document can be found which will supply us with elements so far unknown' (II, 129).

Rodrigues drew or at least completed his maps at different dates, as can be seen at once from the part which comprises the nautical rules and the maps as far as Malacca, mentioned

<sup>1</sup> Mr. J. E. Dandy, of the British Museum (Natural History), to whom I owe the above information on the botanical aspect of the drawings, tells me that Mr. I. H. Burkill, a botanist with first-hand knowledge of the Malayan flora, 'thinks that the author of the drawings, judged by his pen-work, was a bit of an artist, and that he was just playing with the forms he saw—designing in fact.'

in the original table of contents, and all the other matter—rutters, the last fourteen maps, and the panoramic drawings—not mentioned in the table of contents. No doubt the map which shows the eastern part of the Red Sea (fol. 27) was drawn before Rodrigues' expedition to Dahlak and the coast of Abyssinia in 1513, otherwise he would have represented on the map the islands he saw, which he does not. On the other hand, the inscription *agoada de Joham lopes dalluim/ elle descobriu daqui ate Japara* (Watering place of João Lopes de Alvim. He discovered from here to Japara), on the map with north-western Java (fol. 30), refers to a voyage made in March 1513 (see p. 521). This shows that the map was drawn after that date. It might be argued that this inscription was added some time after the map had been drawn, but its names and inscriptions seem to have been written at one and the same time. It is not easy to find on the other maps any indication which might lead to an exact determination of their date. The only conclusion we can reach is that some of the maps, as those with the Red Sea and India (fols. 27, 28) or at least the former, were made before April 1513, when Albuquerque entered the Red Sea. But they must have been made at the beginning of 1511 or not much before, because it is not very likely that Rodrigues, the 'young man' referred to by Albuquerque, had much time to draw them before the seizure of Malacca in August and his sailing for the discovery of the Spice Islands in December of that year. The other twelve eastern maps (between fols. 29 and 42) were drawn in 1513 or shortly afterwards, probably with the help of sketches and notes gathered during the voyage of 1512 and information obtained from oriental pilots.

Rodrigues certainly drew these maps before his voyage to the Canton River in 1519. We can even infer that they were not drawn after or much after 1513. The rutter from Malacca to the Canton River, written on the verso of fol. 37, facing the first of the maps connected with the route to China, indicates that it was added after they had been drawn. This rutter was obviously based on information gathered from some oriental pilot, possibly Chinese, before Rodrigues had direct news from the first Portuguese who went to China in 1513 and returned to Malacca about





the middle of 1514 (see note p. 120), otherwise it would not be so schematic, and probably the distances would have been given in leagues, not in native *jaos* (note pp. 302-3). Rodrigues was in India by the end of August 1513, back from the Red Sea. We do not know whether he remained there or went again to Malacca, but we may assume that he received the information reporting the voyage of Alvim to Java in March 1513, just before or when he was drawing the maps of the Eastern Archipelago and the Far East which are contained in his *Book*.

In the rule to ascertain the Sun's declination by the shadows (fol. 86r.), Rodrigues gives an example for the year 1520, related to a Perpetual Almanach of 1508, which might suggest that this part of the *Book* was written in 1520, after Rodrigues had gone to China in 1519. But if this was so, we can hardly explain why the *Book* does not contain a better rutter and better maps recording the voyage from Malacca to the Canton River. The year 1520 referred to was, in all probability, a mere example without any bearing on the actual year of the writing.

It seems from all this that Rodrigues' *Book* was abruptly sent to Lisbon, perhaps on some urgent official demand, shortly after he drew the maps of the Eastern Archipelago and China, i.e., about 1514. In fact he had no time to complete some maps for which folios were prepared but never used, nor could he finish the panoramic drawings of Java, left in outline, but which he probably intended to decorate like the others. Though positive evidence is scant and much of the deduction has to be circumstantial, we come to the conclusion that Rodrigues' *Book* was finished not later than 1514, and that the maps of the Eastern Archipelago and the Far East, the most important of all, can be dated *circa* 1513.

VALUE OF FRANCISCO RODRIGUES' WORK. Rodrigues' *Book* is an important document for the history of geography. Some of its components, for instance, the nautical rules and part of the maps, may be regarded simply as contributions towards the study of a subject already well documented in contemporary and earlier sources; students, however, may find in them abundant matter for speculation and discussion. As regards the rutters of the voyage to Dahlak and the route from Malacca to China,



the twelve maps of the Eastern Archipelago and coasts from the Bay of Bengal to China, and the panoramic drawings of the southern islands of the Eastern Archipelago, these are entirely new, and their value and importance are paramount.

Both the rutters have the particular interest of being the first known, at least in a modern European language, for any specific voyage in the Red Sea and in the Far East. It is much to be regretted that the rutters of Rodrigues' voyages to the Spice Islands in 1512 and to China in 1519, which he probably wrote, have not come down to us. We can hardly understand why he did not include in his *Book* a rutter of the voyage to Banda. Perhaps he was unable to finish it in time, before the *Book* was suddenly sent to Lisbon. As regards a map of the Red Sea made during or after the expedition of 1513, it may be assumed that he drew such a map and that it was sent by Albuquerque to King Manuel, as stated above. With his taste for writing about his voyages and observations, and the skill shown in his cartographical work, there is no doubt that Rodrigues wrote much more and drew many more maps, all now unfortunately lost.

The six maps representing the Eastern Archipelago constitute the most important part of the *Book*, because they are the first of that part of the world ever drawn by an European as the result of his direct observation. The sequence of panoramic drawings, though comparatively less important, is apparently unmatched and full of interest, their accuracy being remarkable.

Francisco Rodrigues' *Book* and the *Suma Oriental* of Tomé Pires, written about the same time, complement each other to some extent. Their inclusion in the same codex was as natural as is their publication together in the present edition.

